

YORK MINSTER

F. HARRISON

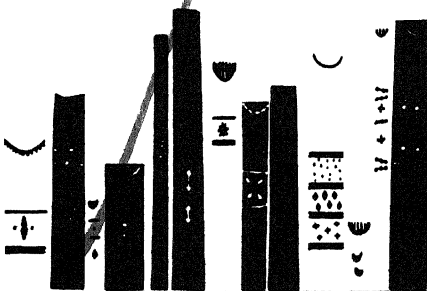
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YORK MINSTER—WEST FRONT

YORK MINSTER

BY

F. HARRISON

M.A., F.S.A.

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PREFATORY NOTE

DETAILED references to books and other authorities which have been consulted are not given in the following pages. A bibliography is included as an appendix.

In spite of an almost daily acquaintance with York Minster for the past seven years, and of a detailed study of documents and books which throw light on its history, the writer does not dare to hope that this book is free from errors or that the judgments expressed in it will command universal agreement. Within the limits of the space at his disposal, he has tried to present as complete a picture as is possible of the past and the present of one of the most noble churches in Christendom.

F. HARRISON

4 MINSTER YARD, YORK

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YORK MINSTER

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE PREVIOUS CHURCHES— SAXON AND NORMAN

THE visitor to York who knows that the first Christian church was built on the site of York Minster in the year 627 naturally expects to see some pre-Conquest architecture preserved in the building. He sees the Early English transepts, the Decorated nave, chapter house, and vestibule, and the Perpendicular eastern arm and towers. He is told that the chief evidences of earlier churches on the spot are in the crypt. And he is disappointed to find that none but the rashest of guides would describe any of the masonry in the crypt as of pre-Conquest date.

This is disappointing. For there was a Bishop of York as early as the year 314. His cathedral, however, was not on the site of the present cathedral, which stands near the middle of the Roman settlement of Eboracum. There is some evidence in favour of a site on a hill, still known as Bishophill, on the other side of the river. It is not too much to say that not a single stone remains of any of the pre-Conquest cathedrals of York.¹

The event which began the continuous history of the church which is commonly known as York Minster was the baptism of Edwin, King of Northumbria, by Paulinus. The story of the marriage of

¹ There are, however, considerable pre-Conquest remains at the Church of St. Mary, Bishophill Junior, York.

Edwin and Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, and of the conditions of that marriage, belongs to the history of England. Its immediate result was the revival of Christianity in the north and the beginning of the history of the building which more than any other of the north-country shrines is the witness of that revival.

The written authority for the history of the earliest churches on this site is the Venerable Bede, who, writing early in the eighth century, chronicles the baptism of King Edwin on Easter Day (the "holy day of Easter") in the Church of St. Peter the Apostle at York, which Edwin himself had built of wood while he was being prepared for baptism. Immediately afterwards, at the suggestion of Paulinus, he began on the same spot, and round the wooden church so as to include it, a larger and more imposing basilica of stone. But after laying the foundations of this and beginning the walls, he was slain in battle at Hatfield, near Doncaster; and the task of completing what he had begun was left to his successor, Oswald, who brought his head to York and buried it in the "porticus" (possibly the entrance chapel) of St. Gregory the Pope, who had been the means of sending to England the mission of Augustine, and thus ultimately of bringing the Gospel to Northumbria. This is the end of Bede's account of the foundation of the Minster.

The next reference to it is found in the "Life" of St. Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, and is reinforced by William of Malmesbury. The biographer draws a vivid picture of deplorable decay: the stone offices attached to the building were in a state of half-ruin; the roofs were not watertight; the windows had disappeared; birds had built their nests inside and outside; and the whole building was in a condition of filth left behind by rain and by the birds. The archbishop caused the roofs to be renewed and

covered with lead he filled the windows with glass, which, while keeping out the birds and the rain, admitted light ; he ordered the walls to be washed and whitened even beyond the whiteness of snow ; and he supplied the church with worthy fittings and endowed it with many lands. William of Malmesbury's account of Wilfrid's care for his cathedral church is derived from that of Eddius Stephanus, and adds hardly anything to it except that before Wilfrid's time the window-spaces had been filled with linen cloth stretched tight and pierced with holes.

Wilfrid died at Oundle in the year 709. He had passed an existence troubled with controversy, but he had left the cathedral in a far better state than that in which he had found it.

The next reference to the Minster is found in Alcuin's famous poem, "*De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesie Ebor. Carmen.*" After chronicling the death of Archbishop John and the succession of Archbishop Wilfrid II (721), he gives a short account of this Wilfrid's care for his church and for his diocese. He "added to the holy church many ornaments with elegant inscriptions ; he caused silver vessels to be made, fit for holy use ; and he covered the altar and the crosses with gold and silver leaf."

This poem is of the greatest value for its reference to events in the history of the Minster before the Conquest which have been differently interpreted. In 766, Albert was made archbishop. He founded in the Minster a large altar, ornamented with gold and jewels, and dedicated to St. Paul. Above this altar was placed a lofty candelabrum, which held nine rows of oil-lights. He built also another rich altar, which he dedicated to the martyrs and the cross, and he placed in the Minster a heavy gold ampulla. The author then breaks off to describe a new basilica which was built during the time of Archbishop Albert by his two pupils, Eanbald and

Alcuin, and consecrated ten days before Albert died. The curved arches and the solid piers were as wonderful as the ceilings, the windows, and the apsidal chapels of the church. The number of altars in this church was thirty. Its dedication was to "Alma Sophia." No other early writer on the history of York mentions this church of thirty altars.

The question that arises is, Whether this is the account of the building of a new church on the site of York Minster—a second stone church? Three historians mention a fire in the city of York in the year 741: (1) Symeon of Durham—"in the year 741 a monasterium in the city of York was burnt on Sunday, ix. Kal. May"; (2) Roger of Hoveden, whose information is to the same effect; (3) the Saxon Chronicle—"this year York was burnt." It is not easy to reconcile Alcuin's account with the statements about the fire. On the one hand, if a fire had destroyed the Minster in 741, twenty-five years before Albert became archbishop, how could he have dedicated altars in it and otherwise enriched it? On the other hand, it is urged that a church that contained thirty altars could be none other than the chief church in the diocese. So great an authority as Professor Willis refused to believe that the fire of 741 destroyed York Minster and that the second church described by Alcuin was a new church on the same site. He argued from the silence of William of Malmesbury and Thomas Stubbs on the matter of Albert's church; and he contended that the account of the building of the new church, following as it did that of the provision of the two new altars without any connecting link between the two descriptions, implied that the new altars were in the Minster but that the new church was not the Minster. Chancellor Raine and other more modern authorities take the other view. There is, of course, no reason why a church, ruined or burnt in 741, should not be

rebuilt for a quarter of a century. The monastery of Peterborough lay in ruins for a century after its destruction by the Danes in 870.

The controversy is largely an academic one, and of very little practical import ; for it is very doubtful whether there is any pre-Conquest work in the crypt. The site of the baptism of King Edwin is pointed out ;¹ but it cannot be too strongly urged that this is entirely a matter of conjecture.

All that can positively be stated, therefore, as to the number of pre-Conquest churches on the site of York Minster is that there were certainly two—the wooden church and Edwin's stone church—and probably three. The question of the position and the site of the later of the two, or the latest of the three, is one which only Browne of more modern historians has attempted to answer. He makes it about the same size as the western portion of the present crypt.² Mr. George Benson suggests that Edwin's stone church may have been cruciform, like the late tenth-century church at Peterborough, remains of which exist under the floor of the south transept.

In spite of this uncertainty, the history of the first four centuries of the church at York after the baptism of King Edwin forms part of an epic of which the heroes are sainted bishops and sainted kings. The building grew as the visible witness of the re-establishment of the Christian Faith in the north. York, Ripon, Beverley, Lasingham, Whitby, Jarrow, Lindisfarne, and Hexham, all tell the same story. All were centres of a life of Christian culture of which Bede and Alcuin are shining examples. The account from Alcuin's pen is of a learning and a piety that might, had other circumstances been favourable, have formed the best foundation for a mediaeval university at York. It was otherwise decreed, however ; and his work remains only a memory.

¹ See page 26.

² See Chapter III.

The history of the Minster up to the Norman Conquest forms a chapter by itself. At York, as all over the country, a new period opened with the appointment of the first Norman to the see. He was Thomas of Bayeux, chaplain to Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, half-brother of William I. When he came to the see, which he occupied from 1070 to 1100, he found the Minster a sad witness to the devastation of the north by order of the Conqueror. It had been destroyed by fire, its staff had been dispersed, only three canons out of seven being left, and the pre-Conquest library, school, and documents had perished.

Thomas had the task of reconstruction before him. For what he did the authorities are Thomas Stubbs and Hugh the Chantor. The late Chancellor Raine gives an interesting account of the MSS. on the "Lives" of the archbishops that used to be attributed to Stubbs. He divides them into three portions: (1) from 627 to 1140, the end of Thurstan's archiepiscopate; (2) from 1147 to 1373, the death of Archbishop Thoresby; (3) from 1374 to 1519, the accession of Thomas Wolsey to the see of York. Only the second of these was the work of Stubbs, who was a Yorkshireman and a Dominican friar, and lived during the fourteenth century. The various MSS. that compose this work are to be found at Cambridge (Gonville and Caius, and Corpus Christi Colleges), Oxford (the Bodleian Library), York (in the records belonging to the Lord Mayor and the Corporation), and amongst the Harleian and Cotton MSS. The MSS. at York cover the earliest period—from the time of Paulinus to the death of Thoresby—and were written by Roger de Burton, who was common clerk of York from 1415 to 1433. The Chronicle of Hugh the Chantor covers the lives of four Archbishops of York: Thomas I, Gerard, Thomas II, and Thurstan, who amongst them occupied the see from 1070 to

1140. Hugh the Chantor (or precentor) died about 1144. His history is therefore of the greatest value because he was a contemporary of probably all the four archbishops about whom he wrote. The earliest copy of his work that has survived was written about the middle of the fourteenth century, and occupies more than thirty folios of the first part of the "*Magnum Registrum Album*," which is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of York.¹

Much of the life of Archbishop Thomas I as given by Hugh the Chantor is taken up with disputes with the See of Canterbury on the question of the independence of the See of York. At the end of his account, the author begins: "*De archiepiscopo breviter recapitulare volo.*" He then tells that on his coming to the see Thomas found the district devastated, only three out of seven canons residing in the city, and the church burnt and destroyed. The remainder of the canons either were dead, or had fled for their lives. He rebuilt and re-roofed the church as well as he could, reinstated the canons whom he found at their posts,² recalled the others, added to their number, rebuilt the refectory and the dormitory, appointed a provost, endowed the church with lands, etc., and apportioned the diocese amongst archdeacons. Later, as the number of canons grew, he conferred on each a prebend. Then he appointed a dean, a treasurer, and a precentor, giving to each a dignity in the cathedral; he had already revived the mastership of the schools—the chancellorship. "*Ecclesiam quae nunc est, fundavit et fecit*"—"the Church that now is he established and made," and provided it with clergy, books, and ornaments. He died on November 18, 1100.

The other account hardly differs from this. It

¹ See pages 172-173 for a general description of the contents of this book.

² *Ecclesiae vero recoopertae et juxta facultatem suam restructae canonicos quos invenerat restituit,*" etc.

gives in a very few words the effect of the devastation of the north on the church—"the metropolitical Church of the Blessed Peter was burnt, and its ornaments, charters, and privileges were either burnt or lost." The words about the rebuilding of the church are: "*Ecclesiam quae nunc est a fundamentis fecit et eam clericis libris et ornamentis ornavit et munivit*"—"The church which now is (standing) he [Thomas] built from the foundations, and provided and furnished with clergy, books, and ornaments." To Hugh's statement of his death is added the information that he died at Ripon and that he was buried at York.

The question of Thomas's exact contribution to the fabric is left for a moment. The next great builder was Roger de Pont l'Evêque, formerly Archdeacon of Canterbury, who became archbishop in the year 1154. Stubbs, who by now has taken up the story, says of his building achievements at York: "The same Roger constructed anew the Choir of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in York, with the Crypt of the same, and the archiepiscopal Palace in York, which is situated near the same Church. He founded also the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at the gate of the same Palace, on the north side of the Church of St. Peter, and dedicated it in honour of Mary the Mother of God and the Holy Angels." He died at Sherburn on November 26, 1181, and was buried "in the middle of the Choir of the Church of the Blessed Peter in York, which he had rebuilt." Roger's choir forms the last great building scheme before those that resulted in the present cathedral.

Of this choir not a trace remains. As Archdeacon of Canterbury, Roger had known "the glorious Choir of Conrad," soon to be burnt, and the earlier crypt under it. The width, the length, and the number of bays, of Roger's crypt, and therefore of his choir,

are known exactly.¹ The interest of his building lies not merely in itself, but also in its relation to Thomas's church. That Thomas built a nave, a transept, and a central tower, is certain; for (1) fragments of the foundation of the south wall of his nave exist under the pavement of the south aisle of the present nave; (2) portions of an apse of his north transept are still to be seen in the crypt; (3) the piers of his central tower form the core of the piers that support the present lantern tower; and (4) a shaft which formed a portion of the triforium of his nave remains behind the eastern spandrel of the easternmost arch on the north side of the present nave.² These remains indicate within limits Thomas's work west of the choir. It is not easy to determine the character of his choir. While Stubbs states that he built the whole church "as it now is" from the foundations, and implies by this that he built a choir, Willis thought that he merely repaired the Saxon choir.³ It seems inconceivable that at Durham a complete church should be built, while at York only nave and transepts should be constructed. It is true that a period of thirty years was by no means too long for the work to be done. Without excavations that would reveal what is hidden below the floor of the crypt, however, it will be impossible to solve not only this problem, but also the problems connected with the pre-Conquest churches.

In any case, however, by the death of Archbishop Roger in 1181 York Minster consisted of eleventh-century nave and transepts, and twelfth-century "transitional" choir and crypt. These had succeeded two, and possibly three, pre-Conquest churches.

¹ See Chapter III.

² See note to this chapter.

³ "It appears to me very probable that he [Thomas] only repaired the Saxon chancel, and left it to be rebuilt after his Nave and Transepts were completed."—"Arch. Hist. of York Minster," p. 16.

The history of the present church will now be outlined.

NOTE

Very few people have seen, or even suspect the existence of, the triforium shaft, which is the only surviving remnant above ground of Thomas's nave. Behind the eastern spandrel of the easternmost ground arch on the north side of the nave, ten feet below the point where the present triforium on that side meets the north-western pier of the lantern tower, there exists in its original setting, a shaft, with base, which is 3 feet 9 inches long over all, and 6 inches in cross section. The base is moulded in four simple orders, and stands on a square foundation (see illustration opposite). The moulding projects very little from the shaft, and is obviously of early design. The shaft, too, is plain and not carved.

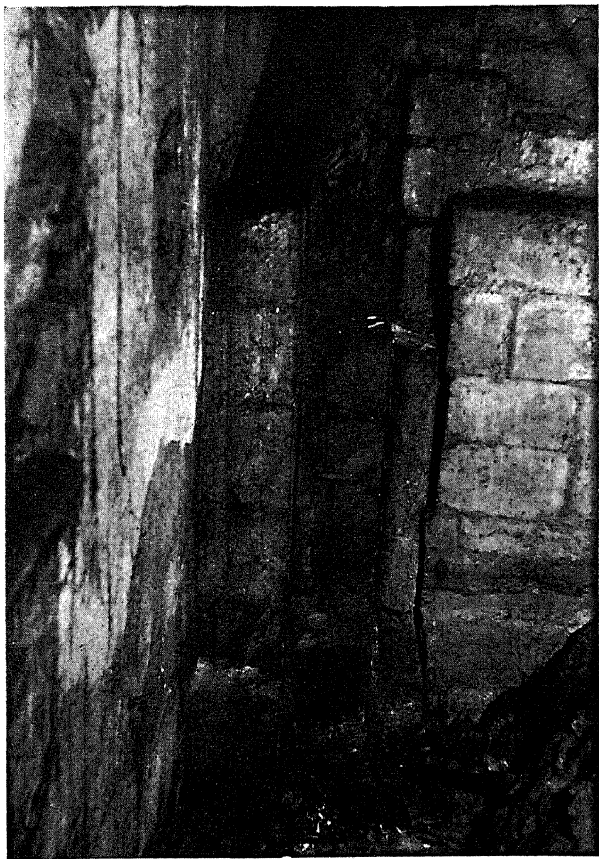
This interesting fragment throws light not only on the design of Thomas's triforium, but also on the height of his nave. Its position at the corner from which sprang the west wall of the north transept, which is moulded like the apse in the crypt of the same date, shows it to have been the triforium shaft nearest to the central tower on the north side.

Further, as the base of the shaft is left entire, it provides the foundation for a speculation as to the height of the Norman nave. This, for a breadth of between 45 and 46 feet, would be considerable. In the case of three well-known Norman cathedrals—Durham, Ely, and Peterborough—the following are the dimensions of the nave :

			Width		Height
Durham	..	..	33	..	73
Ely	..	..	34	..	72
Peterborough	..	..	33	..	81

Thomas's nave at York may therefore be expected to have been well over 90 feet high.

The base of the shaft is about 41 feet from the present pavement. Thomas's pavement was probably at a level 2 or 3 feet lower. The height of his main arcade would therefore be 44 or 45 feet. It was no uncommon



FRAGMENT OF 11TH-CENTURY TRIFORIUM

thing—Ely and Peterborough and Old Winchester are examples of it—for the triforium arcade of Norman cathedrals to be almost equal in height to the ground arcade. If this was the case in Thomas's nave the sill of his clerestory windows would be about 80 feet from the pavement. This would leave at least 10 feet for a small clerestory arcade. A height of over 90 feet—perhaps even 95 feet—is thus arrived at.

If, however, it is argued that the combined height of his upper two arcades was much smaller than that of his ground arcade, as at Durham, then a total height of no more than about 70 feet would be suggested—much too small for the width, according to the proportions of the examples given.

It is therefore almost certain that Thomas's nave was built, like the naves of Ely, Peterborough, and old Winchester, with the triforium arcade very large, and almost equal in height to the ground arcade.

The preservation of this small shaft is therefore a matter of the greatest importance in its bearings on the style in which Thomas's nave was built, and on its height. The existence of the shaft is not known as it ought to be. Access to the vaulting chamber which contains it could not be granted to the public, as, not only is the triforium passage of the present nave without a parapet or even a protecting rail of any kind, but also the descent to it from the triforium is dark and steep, and therefore dangerous.

CHAPTER II

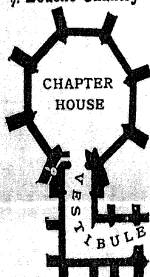
THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENT CHURCH— EARLY ENGLISH, DECORATED, AND PERPENDICULAR

THE present cathedral came into existence as the result of four building schemes, which produced, in order, (1) the transepts and a bell tower (the second central tower on the site); (2) the nave, the chapter house, and the vestibule; (3) the eastern arm and the lantern tower; and (4) the two western towers.

The first impression which the visitor who enters York Minster either at the south transept or at the west end receives is one of great simplicity and vast size. The size of any cruciform church is determined largely by the width of the square crossing. This sets the scale for the middle portions of all parts of the church. As the plan of a central tower must be practically a square, the breadth of the middle portions of all parts which radiate from it will be nearly the same. Some interesting comparisons can be made in this respect with other cathedrals. At Durham, the length of the side of the square of the crossing is 33 feet. At Peterborough, it is 37 feet. At Old St. Paul's, it was 40 feet. At York, it is over 45 feet, and the distance from centre to centre of the piers is between 52 and 53 feet. Since the piers that support the present central tower at York encase piers of Thomas's date (late eleventh century), the size of the crossing under Thomas's central tower was uncommonly large—the largest indeed that is known. Unless succeeding builders were prepared to sweep away the whole of the buildings on the site, and to

ALTARS in CHOIR (So far as is known)

1. St. Stephen.
2. Holy Name of Jesus.
3. Blessed Virgin Mary.(in use)
4. St. John the Evangelist.
5. All Saints.(in use)
6. St. Peter. (High Altar)
7. Zouche Chantry



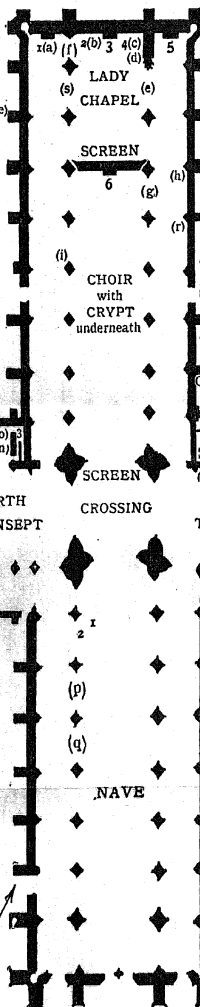
ALTARS in NORTH TRANSEPT

1. Dedication unknown
2. Dedication unknown (in use)
3. St. Nicholas
4. King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry (new and in use)

CHIEF MONUMENTS or TOMBS of ARCHBISHOPS

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| (a) Sterne | (b) Frewen |
| (c) Sharp | (d) Bowet |
| (e) Matthew | (f) Scrope |
| (g) Dolben | (h) Lamplugh |
| (i) Savage | (j) Thomson |
| (k) Bovill | (l) Gray |
| (m) Ludham | (n) Greenfield |
| (o) Rotherham | (p) Harcourt |
| (removed from Lady Chapel) | |
| (q) Musgrave | (r) Hutton |
| (s) Markham | |

Site of former Chapel of the Holy Angels



ALTARS in SOUTH TRANSEPT

1. Dedication unknown
2. St. Michael the Archangel
3. Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist
4. St. Blaise
5. West Riding (Prince of Wales's Own) Regiment (new and in use)



ALTARS in NAVE

1. St. William
2. St. Andrew (near the Tomb of St. William)

GROUND PLAN

build afresh on a new scale, they were forced to adapt their work to the earlier work. Roger's choir was thus adapted. The piers of the north and south arcades were pushed inwards as far as possible ; but even so his choir was only 5 feet narrower than Thomas's nave. To understand the scale on which York Minster is built, and to appreciate certain peculiarities of the architecture, it is important to remember that after Thomas's time—and perhaps this applies also to Thomas himself—every plan was limited by earlier work.

When the present transepts were built, they had to be joined to the northern and southern faces of Thomas's central tower, which was then demolished, and replaced by an Early English tower similarly fixed in plan. When the nave was built, the scale of its middle portion was set by the width of the Early English central tower. Similarly with the choir : when the present central tower was built on the completion of the stonework of the choir, its dimensions were pre-determined by those of the middle portions of transepts, nave, and choir. Since Thomas's time, therefore, all that successive builders have been able to do is to lengthen, to heighten, and to widen the building—the last process by the addition of new aisles, as in the transepts, or of wider aisles, as in the nave and the choir. They did this most effectively ; but the scale to which they had to make the middle portions of their church conform was set by Thomas's central tower, the original tower on the site.

Another interesting fact emerges. The present church was built *round* the church which it displaced. In the nave, in the north transept, and in the choir, below the level of the pavement of each, there are sufficient evidences of this. It is a fair inference that the older portions of the previous church were not demolished until some time after the walls of the new church that were growing round them had been

begun. In the case of the east end, we may be quite sure that the old high altar was not displaced until the new east end was ready for use, even to the roof. This determined the position of the screen behind the present high altar, which was built on a foundation provided by lower courses of the east end of Roger's choir.

These two facts, therefore—(1) the size of the crossing of Thomas's church, which set the scale for the building operations which followed, and (2) the erection of the present church *round* the outside walls of the church which it displaced—are of importance in the architecture of the church as it stands to-day.

One other point must be suggested. Exact dates can seldom be given. As will be seen, the Fabric Rolls do not begin till after the middle of the fourteenth century; that is to say, while they throw much light on the erection of the eastern arm and of the towers, they are of no value for the study of the transepts, the nave, the chapter house, and the vestibule. Until the Fabric Rolls begin, the one indispensable authority is Thomas Stubbs. In addition, help is given by wills, indulgences, chantry grants, and indentures, a large number of which have survived.

While each great building scheme is connected with the name of an ecclesiastic, generally an archbishop, the names of master masons and other officials are known. Professor Hamilton Thompson's recent book, "The Cathedral Churches of England," has an interesting and illuminating chapter on the building of cathedral churches,¹ which deals with this question in general. "The archbishop," he writes, with reference to the building of York Minster after 1361, "contributes largely to the new work: the church is his spouse whom he is bound to provide with suitable raiment. The

¹ Chapter IV.

actual employers of labour, however, are the Dean and Chapter. One of the canons is probably 'master of the fabric,' controlling the building fund." At York the clerks of the works were usually chosen from amongst the vicars-choral. For example, Thomas de Beneston, a vicar-choral, was in charge of the fabric when the west front was completed, and he himself presented to the Dean and Chapter the west windows of the north and south aisles of the nave. To the clerks of the works was delegated the duty of direct contact with the workmen, whom they paid, whose disputes they had to settle—and during the building of the nave at York these disputes were by no means rare—and whose workshop they had to supervise. Each clerk kept a roll of accounts of the moneys received and spent, and known as the Fabric Fund. One of these rolls checked the other, and the official who kept it was known as the *contra-rotulator*, or comptroller. In close touch with the clerks of the works were the master-mason, who was in fact the architect, and the master-carpenter, who had charge of the work of making scaffolds, wooden frameworks needed for the roofs, and the choir stalls. The actual work was done by the masons, who carved and shaped the stones in the workshop, the "wallers or setters," who corresponded to the modern bricklayers, and built the walls out of the stones which they received from the masons, and the carpenters, who worked under the master-carpenters. Lastly came the labourers, who had no special skill, and whose work was to carry the materials from place to place as they were required. Occasionally it happened that a cleric, such as Alan de Walsingham at Ely and William de Wykeham at Winchester, had special gifts for supervising the work of building; but generally the process of building was something like what just has been outlined.

The time required for the erection of York Minster

as it stands—a time which, it must be remembered, included that required for the demolition of the earlier church—may seem to some to be unduly long. Two and a half centuries is indeed a long time for the building even of so large a cathedral. The portions of Liverpool Cathedral completed up to the present date—the Lady chapel and the choir—have taken only 20 years. At that rate of progress, the whole cathedral could be completed in 50 years—and it is to be on a much larger scale than York Minster. In the Middle Ages, however, before the days of credit and banks, building went on only so long as ready money lasted. When one supply of money failed, the work stopped. Professor Willis estimated that, at the rate of about 5,000 square feet a year—an amount which he concluded would be below the actual area—the transepts of York Minster would take 12 years to build, the nave 16, the presbytery (the four eastern bays of the eastern arm) 9, and the choir proper 11—a total of 48 years.¹ Thus, excluding the towers, all three of which were built between 1400 and 1470, there would be, between 1220 and 1400, over 130 years when no building would take place. From this it will be realized that, apart from delays, the rate of building in the Middle Ages will bear favourable comparison with that of modern times.

The first building scheme produced the Early English transepts and a central (bell) tower. It is connected with the names of Walter de Gray (archbishop from 1216 to 1255) and John Romanus the Elder (treasurer from *circa* 1261 to 1265). It occupied in all between 40 and 50 years, only 12 of which, on Willis's computation, were spent in building.

It is usually supposed that the stone needed for the building of the Minster was granted to the church by Robert le Vavasour from his quarry at Thieves-

¹ In 1370 the building operations at York cost the sum of £627—an amount equal to quite £10,000 in our money.

dale, near Tadcaster.¹ Stone from this quarry had been used in the building of the earlier church on the site. Others, however, had a share in the great work. It is impossible to state exactly when the building of the transepts was begun. The south transept is the earlier of the two. On March 22, 1227, and again on July 18 of the same year Walter de Gray issued appeals for funds for the fabric of the Minster in return for indulgences and other spiritual benefits. The building was therefore in progress at this time.

The date of the completion of the south transept is again a matter only of conjecture founded on some documentary evidence. That it was finished some time before the end of the first half of the thirteenth century is most likely, for the north transept and a central tower still remained to be built. In the year 1241 Walter de Gray, with the approval of the Dean and Chapter, founded an altar in the middle bay of the east aisle of the south transept, which he dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, and at which the Masses for his soul were to be said. This is the first example of a chantry in the present building. The date 1241 may therefore be taken as that of the completion of the south transept.

It is not known exactly when the north transept was begun or completed. Stubbs ascribes the building of it and of a new central bell tower at his own expense to John Romanus, treasurer from about 1260 to 1265. The date of the Five Sisters window—probably between 1260 and 1270—indicates the date of the completion of the north transept. Of the ecclesiastics whose names are connected with the building of the Minster, all except John Romanus were archbishops. Of the shields in the

¹ Later, Huddlestone stone was used, as it was for the re-building of, for example, St. Martin's Church, Coney Street, York, in the middle of the 15th century.

windows, hardly any are of ecclesiastics except those of archbishops and treasurers. These facts bear witness to the comparative importance of the office of treasurer.

When the transepts were finished, they would tower above the Early Norman nave and the Transitional choir, as still at Le Mans where the nave is dwarfed by the transepts and the choir.

The nave, the chapter house, and the vestibule followed closely on the transepts. The length of Thomas's nave is not exactly known; its width was 20 feet less than the width of the present nave. The building as it stood in 1280 would therefore be out of proportion. It is a matter of some doubt whether the builders of the transepts anticipated that a loftier and longer nave with wider aisles would be needed. The old nave was not, however, suffered to stand much longer.

The foundation stone of the present nave was laid at the south-eastern corner on April 6, 1291, by Archbishop John Romanus, son of the treasurer. Robert de Percy, Lord of Bolton, granted at the same time free passage for wood and stone by land and by the river Wharfe from Tadcaster. This grant, together with the previous grant by Robert le Vavasour, has been interpreted to mean that Vavasour gave the stone and Percy the wood for the building of the nave. The presence of the two statues on the west front of men holding pieces of stone has been taken as bearing out this supposition. The documents show, however, that various archbishops also were generous donors of wood and stone for the fabric.

The usual indulgences followed from time to time, notably in 1304, 1306, 1312, 1320, and 1324, to stimulate the faithful to offer gifts for the building of the nave; but in spite of these the west wall was not finished till the year 1338, and the roof was not timbered till the year 1354. In addition to John Romanus, six archbishops occupied the see during the

building of the nave—Henry de Newerk (1296–1299), Thomas de Corbridge (1300–1303), William de Greenfield (1303–1315), William de Melton (1315–1340), William la Zouche (1340–1352), and John de Thoresby (1352–1373). Thoresby lived long enough to see the four eastern bays of the choir completed.

The building of the nave was not entirely a peaceful matter. Labour troubles were frequent, as the master-masons had to deal with unruly and insubordinate workmen. Wood and stone were stolen in large quantities from the heaps of it that lay about, and for some time the roof, unfinished and dangerous, was a menace to human life. At least one workman was drowned in one of the deep pools of water that had been allowed to collect there. In the year 1346, however, Philip de Lincoln became master-carpenter, and from that time a better state of things prevailed.

During the building of the nave, the chapter house and the vestibule were begun and completed. Again it is doubtful whether the builders of the north transept contemplated either the building of a chapter house or a door from any part of their transept to give access to a chapter house. There is no trace, either in actual remains or in documents, of the existence of a chapter house during the Norman period; and it is not known where the capitular body transacted its business. The doorway that leads to the vestibule made a clumsy and ruthless attack on the design of the north wall of the east aisle of the north transept. A less imposing doorway that would have spared the two lancet lights above it would have sufficed; for the string course that runs round the north transept is high enough for a reasonable pair of doors. It is not as though the Decorated work in stone above the present doors has beauty to commend it. As it stands, it interferes needlessly with the design of the east aisle, and seems to be a mistake.

The vestibule and the chapter house appear to have been designed, and the lower course of each built, at the same time. The date of the commencement of this work is quite uncertain. While the Purbeck marble shafts which support the canopies of the stalls in the chapter house, and the plain, flat, pointed sub-canopies above the stalls, point to an early date—probably before 1300—the elaborate geometrical tracery and the glass of the windows of both chapter house and vestibule make it practically certain that the interior decoration was not proceeded with till between the years 1310 and 1320, and the presence of bears' heads on the parapet of the chapter house indicates that the exterior was not finished till the treasurership of Francis de Fitzurse (1335–1352). The exact date is not of much moment. Of the sixty years or so occupied by the building of the nave, the chapter house, and the vestibule, Willis computed that only sixteen were occupied by the building of the nave. Adding another four or five for the building of the chapter house and the vestibule—a generous allowance—we arrive at twenty or twenty-one active years out of the total of sixty.

The building consisted, therefore, at the middle of the fourteenth century, of the thirteenth-century transepts and central tower, the fourteenth-century (Decorated) nave, chapter house, and vestibule, and the late-twelfth-century (Transitional) choir and crypt. Only a few years' respite was granted to the faithful. It was decided on July 20, 1361, to build a Lady chapel and a new choir. In the same year Archbishop Thoresby issued an appeal for funds for the completion of the church, and made a gift to the building fund of the stone from his ruined manor of Sherburn-in-Elmet. The foundation stone of the new east end was laid on July 30th, 1361, and the archbishop gave sums of 100 marks and £200 a year as long as he lived. Stubbs gives him the credit of

building and decorating the Lady chapel, and says that he caused to be translated and reinterred there, at his own expense, the bodies of several of his predecessors, whose souls were to be remembered at the altar. On his death in 1373 the first four bays from the east were probably complete, and the work of demolishing Roger's choir was commenced.

The eastern arm was not completed and glazed till quite the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The archbishops who occupied the see during this period were Alexander Neville (1374-1386), Thomas Arundel (1388-1396), Robert Waldby (1397-1398), Richard le Scrope (1398-1405), and Henry Bowet (1408-1423). Neville marked his consecration by presenting to the Minster two handsome candelabra, plated with silver and gold, and the sum of 100 marks. He was not an amiable person, and quarrelled with the Dean and Chapter, whose privileges he did not respect. Luckily, he was deprived by Richard II, and banished. Arundel was a more welcome and a more kindly benefactor; he gave to his church precious vestments and ornaments. Scrope's tenure of the see came at a difficult time; and so much occupied was he in the political affairs which cost him his life that there is no record of his relations with his cathedral church. Bowet not only founded a chantry in the Minster for his own soul, but gave many rich vestments.

By the year 1405, when the outer shell of the eastern arm was finished, the church was complete except for the towers. Scrope's execution had produced in Yorkshire a great wave of discontent with the Lancastrian dynasty. The family of Scrope, with its two branches connected with Masham and Bolton, was one of the most famous Yorkshire families in the Middle Ages. Four vicars-choral had carried the archbishop's body from the outskirts of the city, where he had been executed, to his cathedral

for burial at the east end.¹ The unknown author who continued Stubbs's work relates, with some relish, that Henry IV was smitten with leprosy on the day of Scrope's execution as he was riding from Bishopthorpe to Cawood, and that no cure could be found for the disease. Possibly feeling that he owed some reparation to those who loved Scrope, and to the diocese which Scrope had ruled, the king offered to the Dean and Chapter in 1407 the services of his mason, William de Colchester, in the task of rebuilding the central tower. An interesting if somewhat painful incident followed.

In the Register of Alexander Neville, archbishop from 1374 to 1386, though it has no proper place there, is a letter addressed by the chapter possibly to the dean, John Prophete, Keeper of the Privy Seal, informing him of a grievous attack that had been made by some of the Minster workmen upon the master-mason, William of Colchester—an attack in which the jealous workmen, “moved by a spirit of envy, to encompass the death and ultimate destruction of Mr. William Colchester, had grievously wounded him.” This was evidently their protest against the appointment over them of a stranger; and the chapter request that the matter be brought before the notice of the king. It is not known when William de Colchester was appointed, but he was in office between the years 1415 and 1419, during which time the lantern tower may be assumed to have been completed, at least for a time. The sinking and the consequent rebuilding of one of the piers on the western side of the north transept seems to have decided the Dean and Chapter not to add any more weight to it. The carvings of the vault were not, however, added till 1472.

Only the two western towers remained to be raised

¹ Probably in the easternmost bay of the arcade on the north side. See pages 93-94.

on the foundations already laid for them in the two westernmost bays of the nave.

The Fabric Roll of the year 1432 is the first that mentions one of the western towers—the campanile, or the south-western bell tower. The roll for the following year contains lists of great purchases of timber, which would be needed in the erection of the tower, for scaffolding, and, also, for the completion of the stalls in the choir. It is not known when this tower was completed, but the name of John Berningham, treasurer, which is cut in the stone under one of the windows, shows that the tower was being built during his treasurership (1432-1457). The Fabric Rolls show that building was proceeding, probably on this tower, as late as 1446.

When the north-western tower was begun is uncertain. A roll which both Browne and Raine attribute to the year 1456 makes it appear that a scaffold was erected in that year for some purpose, which Raine believed to be the building of the north-western tower. As the service of the re-consecration of the whole church took place on July 3, 1472, the tower would then be complete. The date, July 3, is still observed as the anniversary of the completion of the building.

Only one considerable work remained to be done—the erection of a stone screen between the crossing and the choir. In 1472 or 1473 William Hindley and his family removed from Norwich to York, their removal expenses, which amounted to 100s., and the expenses of a lawsuit between Hindley and the Dean and Chapter of Norwich, presumably for breach of contract on Hindley's part, being paid by the Dean and Chapter. Hindley was master-mason until 1505. His chief contribution to the fabric is the screen, which, from whatever point of view screens which interrupt long vistas are regarded, is a masterpiece of beauty and detail.

The archbishops who occupied the see for the period between 1426 and 1472 were John Kempe (1426-1452), who painted the ceiling of the nave, William Bothe (1452-1464), and George Neville (brother of the "King-maker," 1464-1476). There were only five other archbishops before the Reformation—Laurence Bothe (half-brother of William Bothe, 1476-1480), Thomas Rotherham or Scott (1480-1500), Thomas Savage (1501-1507), Christopher Baynbridge (1508-1514), and Thomas Wolsey (1519-1530). Of these, Scott (or Rotherham, as he elected to be called) and Savage were buried in the Minster, and their tombs have survived. None of the five left his mark on the fabric, and Wolsey was never in York, being arrested at Cawood while he was on his way to visit his cathedral. Had he been able to reach York he would have seen the Minster before the hand of the Reformer, the march of time, and the havoc of fire stripped it of much of its beauty.

LIST OF MASTER-MASONS OF YORK MINSTER

From Raine's "Introduction to the Fabric Rolls," pp. xix-xx.

	Thomas de Pakenham
	William de Hoton
1351	William de Hoton, junr.
1368-1371	Robert de Patrington
1399-1401	Hugh de Hedon
1415	William Colchester
1421	John Long
1433	Thomas Pak
1442-1443	John Bowde
1445-1447	John Barton
1456	John Porter
1466	Robert Spyllesby
1472	William Hindley
1505	Christopher Horner
1526	John Forman

Patrington and Hedon were probably the builders of the famous East Riding churches of those names, and were sought out by the Dean and Chapter for their skill.

CHAPTER III

THE CRYPT

(Constant reference to the plan facing page 26 is advised in the reading of this Chapter.)

THE crypt is entered by steps and gates in the north aisle of the choir under the fourth bay from the east end.

From remains of the two Norman churches, it is clear that the level of the pavement of Archbishop Roger's choir was several feet higher than the level of the pavement of Archbishop Thomas's nave. What kind of division there was between nave and choir, whether of stone or of wood, is not known. The probability is that the screen was of wood and was pierced so that the high altar would be visible from the west end. The reason for lifting the level of the pavement of the choir above that of the nave was to give prominence to the high altar and to make it the most conspicuous object in the church. A crypt of some kind was the result ; and, being underneath and part of the support of the choir above, was naturally made strong by means of narrow bays, which extended from north to south and from east to west for the whole length and breadth of the eastern arm of the church. Suitable ornamentation, daily use for Masses and meditation, and, in some cases, veneration of the relics that were kept there followed. But the actual structure of a crypt arose from the desire to recognize the supreme position in Christian worship of the high altar.

It is not known whether Thomas's choir (granted that he built one from the foundations) had a crypt.

Several existing large churches of that date (the second half of the eleventh century) do not possess crypts under their eastern arms. Nor, in the existing state of our knowledge of the earliest Christian buildings on the site of York Minster, is it possible to state whether any of the Saxon churches had a crypt. It is most unsatisfactory that anything more definite cannot be stated about this part of the earlier history of the Metropolitan Church of the northern province; but in the absence of evidence it is unsafe to argue that what ought to have been or might have been expected actually existed.

Practically all the early masonry in the present crypt is of Roger's date. The oblong chamber at the foot of the steps by which the crypt is entered occupies from north to south the space between the piers which support the present choir, and from east to west the space of less than two bays of the present choir. The wall (Q) at its eastern boundary is pierced by two quatrefoil openings, through which can be seen what is left of the east wall of Roger's choir and crypt, which were thus square-ended. The wall at its western boundary is pierced for a rough doorway (B), and for a square stone well (A), which is pointed out, though with nothing except tradition to support the statement, as the site of the well at which Edwin was baptized in the year 627. The small round columns, the bases of which are hidden by the modern pavement, with their elaborately carved capitals reminiscent of Eastern carving in its forms and in its delicacy, and the ribbed vaulting, originally formed part of Roger's crypt. When the present choir was built, however, in the second half of the fourteenth century, that crypt was almost entirely demolished; and out of the materials of it this portion of the crypt was re-erected as a platform for the high altar, which was placed one bay farther westwards than at present, and the shrine

of St. William. This fact explains why the arches are of irregular shape and why the responds and capitals on the north and south are of octagonal shape and of different designs from the remainder of the columns and capitals in this part of the crypt. The solid wall which formed the western boundary of this chamber shut out the western portions of the crypt, which remained unknown until the excavations which followed the fire of 1829 laid them bare. The eastern crypt was still used for altars, and there is a decaying piscina of Early Perpendicular design at the east of the present south wall.

The western portion of Roger's crypt is reached through the rough doorway (B) which has been cut into the western wall. It will be noticed at once that whereas the eastern crypt contains four bays from north to south Roger's crypt contained only three. These three formed the middle portion, which was only a few feet narrower than the middle portion of the present choir. Beyond, on the north and on the south, lay the aisles of the crypt. Between the aisles and the middle portion there were three large piers (C) on each side, which still remain. The easternmost pair are the smallest, and the simplest in design, there being no carving on the surface of them. The middle pair are elaborately decorated with dog-tooth. The westernmost pair are by far the most interesting, for not only is their design extremely handsome but also their capitals and the beginnings of the ribs of the vault that sprang from them have survived in an almost perfect state of preservation. From this pair the height of the vault of the whole crypt was calculated by Professor Willis to have been between 15 and 16 feet. It is easy now to picture the appearance of the middle part of Roger's crypt, five bays broad including the aisles, and seven bays long, with intermediate small, plain, round columns, standing on simply moulded bases (D),

surmounted by carved capitals of elaborate workmanship, and supporting a vault which had semicircular ribs, the whole dignified by an arcade on north and south of semicircular arches springing from massive piers which were themselves the foundation of the tall transitional columns of the choir above.

At a distance of one bay westwards of the last-mentioned pair of piers is a stone ledge (E), which is perfect except for a doorway cut into it to give access to that part of the crypt which lies farther west, towards the central tower. At the north and south ends of this ledge are the large responds which supported on their side arches that sprang from the western faces of the most westerly of the three pairs of piers. From these responds sprang a wall which joined them, and which seems to have formed the western boundary of Roger's crypt in its middle portion. Fragments of the face of this wall remain at the ends. At the point marked *a* on the plan, lying a little to the west of the face of this wall, are three steps. If these steps were used as an entrance to the crypt there would be a gap in the wall as it was originally built. The surfaces of the blocks of stone that form this so-called staircase, however, are not worn at all, as they would be if they had been in constant use for two centuries, the total period of time during which Roger's crypt lasted. Further, the usual entrance to crypts of that period was from the aisles of the choir, and there is evidence, which will shortly be pointed out, to support the view that Roger's crypt was entered in this way. The size of the blocks of stone makes it very probable that they were placed where they are when Roger's walls were demolished. It is almost certain, then, that the wall which connected the two responds which have been mentioned was solid, and contained no opening of any kind. What lies west of this wall will be examined later. In the mean-

time, the provisional conclusion may be accepted that Roger's crypt did not extend under the whole of the middle portion of his choir. A reason for this unique arrangement will be suggested.

Going northwards, and leaving the ledge and the wall on the left, the visitor to the crypt soon stands in the north aisle, facing the north outer wall (F). This wall extends from west to east for nearly 30 yards, and reveals the existence of two bays and a vestibule farther west than the three that have been already noticed. At the foot of it is a ledge of the same design as the ledge which was placed at the western boundary of the middle portion of the crypt. The responds (G) stand on bases of characteristically simple moulding. At the point marked H on the plan it is possible to pass through this outer wall, which is between 3 and 4 feet thick, and to stand on the outside of the twelfth-century choir. Fragments of five buttresses (J) can be seen, with the ledge between each pair that formed the sill of perhaps two small windows, which gave light to each bay of the crypt. To the north of the outside wall that is being examined are the foundations of the north wall (K) of the present church. It will be noticed that stones from Roger's crypt have been used freely in building this wall. Here is a portion of a round column that filled an angle in a buttress; there, a fragment of the base on which it stood. The short wall (L) which forms the western boundary of this narrow chamber is that portion of the east wall of the present north transept at the point where it was joined to the north wall of Roger's choir. The piece of wall (N) opposite to it, at the east end of the chamber, shows that Roger's choir had transepts.

The site of the north transept of Roger's crypt and choir is reached by walking eastwards for about 9 yards, when the inner face of his north wall is reached again. The width of these transepts from east to

west was 21 feet, a distance which is known exactly from the existence of the angle of the north transept at the place where the wall turns again eastwards. It is not known how wide the transepts were from north to south. Between the points N and N (see the plan), 10 feet 6 inches from each point, are the bases (P) of four columns, which probably had a common capital and which were of the same character and design as the other smaller columns in the crypt. These formed an intermediate support for the vault of a span of 21 feet in a height of over 5 feet less. From the capital, ribs of the vault would radiate in four directions. From the position of the east wall of Roger's choir it is evident that beyond the transepts the crypt and the choir had two bays. Counting the two narrow ten-feet-six bays, the crypt had seven bays in the middle portion and nine in the aisles. It had from north to south five bays in all, and was in internal measurement just over 140 feet long and over 73 feet broad. The aisles were about 14 feet wide from wall to wall.

At the western end of the outer wall of the crypt the floor rises at R for about 2 feet. At this point there must have been originally two or three steps. Here there was a massive door, which from the width of the aisle must have been a double door. The capital that still remains, mutilated though it is, on the westernmost respond on the inner face of the wall shows that the total height of this door must have been over 13 feet. The projection at the level of the top of the step is what remains of the jamb (S) of the door. It is carved on its western side with dog-tooth and ball ornament and it contains a fragment of a hinge.

The small, low chamber at the higher level is full of interest. Besides the jamb of the doorway, it contains a fragment of the north wall of the crypt (F), a three-shafted column on its base (T), a portion of a



CRYPT—IITH-CENTURY ARCHWAY AND APSE IN NORTH-WEST CORNER



CRYPT—SOUTH-WEST CORNER

curved wall (X), a fragment of an archway (W), another piece of twelfth-century wall (V), and, opposite to it, a length of wall of the same date. The plan shows that there was no passage at the west end of the crypt from north to south.

These fragments present difficulties until it is mentioned that on the south side, in the corresponding place, the masonry has not been disturbed since Roger's time. The small low chamber on the south side is very difficult of access, but a photograph of it has been taken, which is reproduced (facing page 30). It shows that on the north side the pieces of twelfth-century wall (F and V in the plan) met to form a double corner near the column T, and that they hid, as they still hide on the south side, the earlier masonry, the archway and the curved piece of wall. Both of these are fragments of Thomas's work; the former probably gave access to a staircase which led to the level of the crossing above, and the latter is a portion of an apse which formed part of the east wall of Thomas's eleventh-century north transept. This apse was about 30 feet in external, and about 20 feet in internal, diameter. With the exception of part of the inner stonework of the north-west pier that supports the present lantern tower, these two fragments are the only portions of Thomas's work that can at present be seen. Unfortunately, they throw no light on the question as to what Thomas's builders did to the eastern arm of the church.

The small chambers to the north and the south that have just been examined were undoubtedly vestibules shut off from the crypt by massive doors. As the portion of wall (V and V₁) at each side turns westwards, the presumption is that it gave access to a small stairway which led up to the aisles or to the transepts above. This was the usual way in which crypts of the same period or earlier, as at Canterbury, Gloucester, Worcester, and Rochester, were entered. And this

is an additional reason for rejecting the suggestion that the fragment of a staircase (*a*) near the middle of the crypt ever served the purpose of an entrance to the crypt. It must be remembered that originally the height of the two vestibules was at least 12 or 13 feet from the level of the raised floor.

The width of the aisles of Roger's crypt has been mentioned as about 14 feet. Opposite to the inner face of the outer north wall, inside the brick arches between the doorway and the ledge which formed the western boundary of the middle portion of the crypt, is a line of twelfth-century wall (*Y*) in both aisles. The position of this determines the width of the aisles. But it is of interest from another point of view. From what has been described already, and from the plan, it is evident that the western portion of Roger's crypt was enclosed between walls that he caused to be built (*E*, *Y* and *Y*) and the supports of Thomas's central tower on its eastern side. This enclosed area must now be examined.

It contains, besides the stones arranged in the form of a staircase (*a*), a curious erection consisting of four slabs of stone on a rubble foundation (*b*), two herring-bone walls (*Z* and *Z*₁) which stretch for about fifteen yards westwards from the ledge (*E*), and an inner facing of square-shaped stones forming the third layer in a wall of three layers (*c* and *c*₁). An arrangement of this kind is unique. None of the few surviving crypts of cathedral churches except this presents this feature. So far, no reason which is not contradicted by the facts has been given for such a strange plan.

The raised slab is explained to visitors as the remains of a heathen altar or as part of the floor of one of the early churches; the staircase passes for an entrance into Roger's or some earlier crypt; and the herring-bone wall is easily accounted for as the north and south walls of one of the Saxon churches. These

statements are more easily made than proved. Granted, for the purpose of argument, that the herring-bone walls are what they pass for being, it is strange that a heathen altar should have been left standing in the middle of a Christian church. Its rubble foundation is of the same character as that of the supposed staircase—a fact which harmonizes ill with the suggestion that the altar and the staircase belong to different periods. Further, the surface of the raised slab, besides being very rough, is broken into four pieces, and is not large enough for an altar. Its edges, too, are uneven, and are differently moulded. Tempting as the suggestion is that here is something earlier in date even than the earliest church on the site, it must be discarded until strong evidence is brought that it is the truth. The alternative that the slab is a portion of the floor of an earlier church is one that cannot be proved in view of the consideration that so little is known about the disposition of the buildings on the site of the present choir before the end of the twelfth century.

The staircase theory, too, even though it had the support of Professor Willis,¹ will hardly bear the light of reason ; for not only are the steps not worn at all, as they would be if they had been in constant use for some centuries, but also the stones are undoubtedly of the same composition and shape as those of Roger's choir, and the chisel marks are still to be seen on the horizontal portions of them. To the suggestion that they were used as a staircase in Roger's time, the answer is that there were two other entrances into Roger's crypt, of which evidence has been adduced above, and that no other crypt of that date is entered in that way.

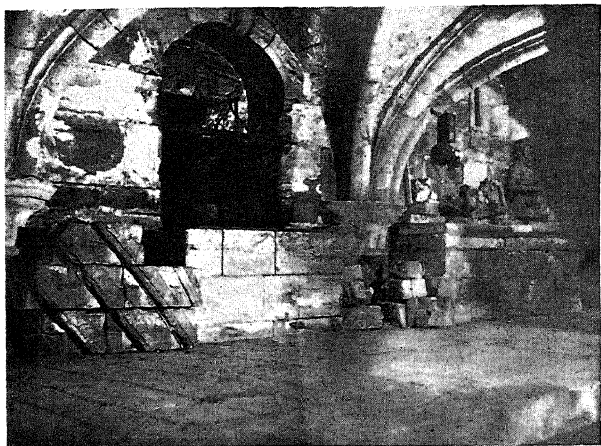
The illusion that all herring-bone work must be Saxon is a common one. Certainly, herring-bone

¹ Willis says : " I conjecture, therefore, that this was the stair which led to the small crypt or ' confession ' of the Saxon chancel."

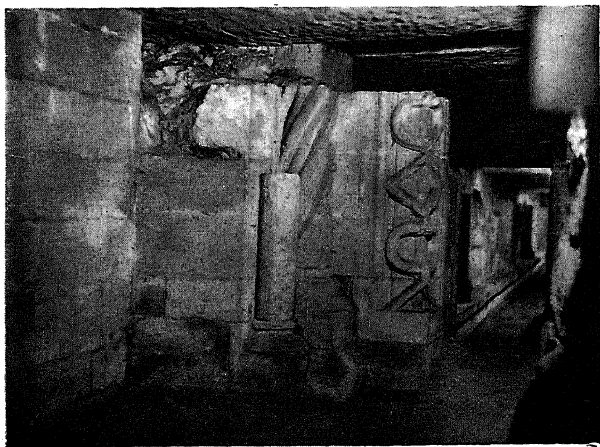
work is found in Saxon masonry. On the other hand, plenty of it still exists without a trace of this form. The little eighth-century church at Bradford-on-Avon does not contain any at all; nor does the tower at Ovingham-on-Tyne. Again, the herring-bone walls do not begin until a point three feet from the floor of the crypt, and they are built on a foundation that appears to be of much later date than Saxon times. The inner face of each wall is so rough that it can never have formed the inner face of even a Saxon church of the importance of York. The description of the magnificence of the church that Archbishop Albert is said to have built at the end of the eighth century (see pages 3-4) makes one reject any connexion between such splendour and the almost careless building of these walls that, on the Saxon theory, housed it.

All three suggestions for the explanation of this portion of the crypt, therefore, have to be rejected with the regret that must always be felt by those who would believe in them if they could. They savour too much of the exaltation, that is far too common in these matters, of conjecture into history.

It is extremely unlikely that the problems raised by this portion of the crypt will be solved without further excavation. No digging below the surface of the present crypt has been done since, after the fire of 1829, the crypt was laid bare and shown as it is now. Below the surface were discovered concrete foundations containing lengths of oak beams, which in some cases had decayed but in others were sound. These were interpreted as being the foundations of one of the Saxon churches, which was 140 feet in external length from east to west, 84 feet at the west end from north to south, and 136 feet at the east end from north to south, where it had transepts and a very short chancel, only large enough to accommodate three altars. The church was thus in the



CRYPT—SITE OF BAPTISM OF KING EDWIN



CRYPT—JAMB OF DOORWAY IN NORTH AISLE

form of a cross, with the eastern arm very short indeed. It is, however, very difficult to see what part the present herring-bone walls played in this structure, for they would entirely close in the middle portion of the west end, leaving aisles beyond them, on the north and the south, cut off from the main body of the church; unless, indeed, the level of the church was higher than the level of the present crypt, and these walls were foundation walls for the piers above.

Yet another suggestion with regard to the herring-bone walls has been made—that they were the outer walls of a Saxon church that was cruciform in shape, with transepts and a fairly long choir, the whole forming a cross of a common shape.

It is seen, therefore, that the problem of the enclosed portion of the west end of the crypt presents very real difficulties. There seems to be no doubt, however, that Roger left the crypt entirely enclosed at the middle portion of the west end between a wall without any opening springing from the ledge (E), the masonry supporting the central tower, and two walls on the north and the south, each nearly 20 yards long, composed of three layers: (1) of his own building, facing into each aisle; (2) the herring-bone on each side, nearly 5 feet thick; and (3) an inner facing on each side of square-shaped stones, most of which still exists, but which has been removed in places to reveal the herring-bone work behind it.

Whatever relation the herring-bone walls bear to earlier structures on the site, there is a reason why Roger may have enclosed the middle portion of the west end of his crypt. He joined his choir to the nave, the transepts, and the central tower left by Thomas. It was quite a usual thing for Norman towers to fall owing to the Norman habit of filling their otherwise solid piers with rubble, which in time gave way and caused disaster to their

towers. If Roger realized this danger he might quite conceivably guard against it by making the foundation of the western piers of his choir above as strong as possible. The construction of a wall of three parts would achieve this end. How much of this wall he found in existence is doubtful. The question as to the use of the herring-bone walls in previous structures depends largely on what Thomas did to the eastern arm ; and, as has been shown, there is no exact knowledge of this. If Thomas contented himself with using an earlier church for his choir, Roger may have found the herring-bone walls in existence, and used them to strengthen the supports of Thomas's central tower. On the other hand, if Thomas built a new choir it is impossible to tell what the herring-bone walls were used for in it, unless he built a crypt also.

The correct interpretation of this portion of the crypt depends therefore on the exact contribution of Thomas to the fabric as well as on the position of the earlier churches on the site. Until these things are known no conclusion that is not contradicted by facts can be drawn about the fragment of the staircase, the fourfold slab on the rubble foundation, and the herring-bone walls. All that is known is the shape and the appearance of Roger's crypt ; and an explanation has been suggested for the enclosing of the middle portion of its west end.

THE TRANSEPTS

NOT so long as the transepts of Lincoln Cathedral, nor so elegant as those of Beverley Minster, the transepts of York Minster are unsurpassed for grandeur. The view of both transepts from the door of the south transept, or that from the ledge of the five lancet lights above the Five Sisters window, is one of the finest architectural sights in the world. There can be no doubt that in spite of their length, breadth, and height, they owe much of their majesty to the fact that the lantern tower is open to its summit. The eye, after roving round, is compelled to look up and to fix itself on this central crown which gives to this vast space both height and light.

The blemishes in the transepts are lost in the wonder and the simplicity of the effect that they produce. What effect they produced when they were joined to a nave and a choir 10 feet or so narrower in each aisle than the present nave and choir it is difficult to imagine. From the fragment of the apse of Thomas's north transept that is visible in the crypt it is clear that his transepts had no eastern aisles; and, as there is no example of western aisles in transepts when eastern aisles are wanting, the conclusion is justifiable that Thomas built his transepts without aisles. Even as the Minster stands now, with an enormous nave and a large choir, the transepts are a prominent feature of the building. They were at first surmounted by an Early English central tower, which was a bell tower, and therefore was closed above a certain height. Minus the effect produced by the lantern tower, however, the transepts

as originally built must have dwarfed both nave and choir, being at least 80 feet longer than the choir and probably as much longer than the nave.

One noticeable feature of the transepts, that does not add to, but rather detracts from, their beauty, is the presence of a curious architectural device in the shape of a closed arch at the east and at the west side of each transept nearest the lantern tower. Most of the arches at the east and west ends of both nave and choir are narrower than their fellows in the same arcade. But these four in the transepts are the only ones which are closed. The other narrower arches are part of original designs, and so in spite of their narrowness are not out of proportion. The four in question, however, were the result of circumstances that were not foreseen when the transepts were built. It is an interesting question whether the builders of the transepts anticipated the rebuilding of the nave or the choir, or both. The size of the transepts is an indication that at least they knew that they were leaving to their successors the task of restoring the church to proper proportions. At the same time, the adaptations that had to be made in the transepts to make them harmonize with the reconstruction of both nave and choir prove that one generation, while conscious of the task which it was leaving to the next, was content to leave also to it the solution of the problems it had raised.

A glance at the triforium and the clerestory on either side of either transept, and a survey of the exterior of each transept, shows that the transepts were built in three large bays. The west side of the central span of the south transept is chosen for the purpose of this description; but the reasoning is similar in the other three cases. In the triforium and the clerestory the three bays, starting from the south wall, are complete. There has been, as is easily seen, a little alteration in the arch of the third bay

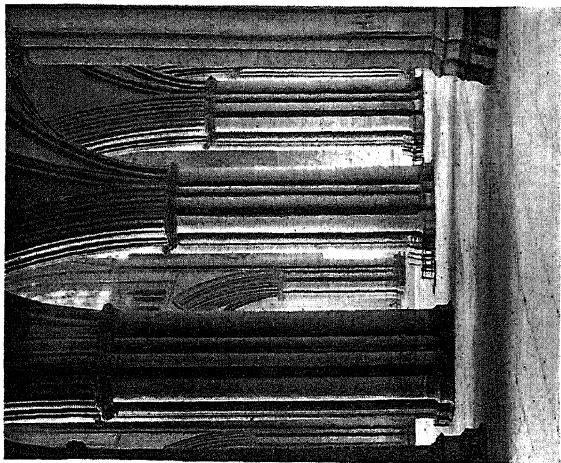
of the triforium which is not quite semicircular in shape. It will be seen that the line of the slender shaft to the north of the third bay of the triforium, if continued downwards, would touch the floor at a point near the middle of the wide bay that spans the entrance to the south aisle of the present nave. When Thomas's nave was standing, however, that point was in line with the south wall of that nave. A narrow ground arch under the wall above which is now almost plain completed the ground arcade of this side of the transept. This arch was of the same width as the south aisle of Thomas's nave.

Corresponding to the three bays in the triforium and the clerestory were three bays of the ground arcade. The first two from the south are still to be seen. The third has disappeared. Originally it was underneath the third bay of the triforium above, and occupied the space between the second bay and the narrow ground arch which has been mentioned. There were thus three wide bays, with ground arch, triforium, and clerestory all complete, and a fourth narrow bay consisting of ground arch ; but of what it consisted above is uncertain.

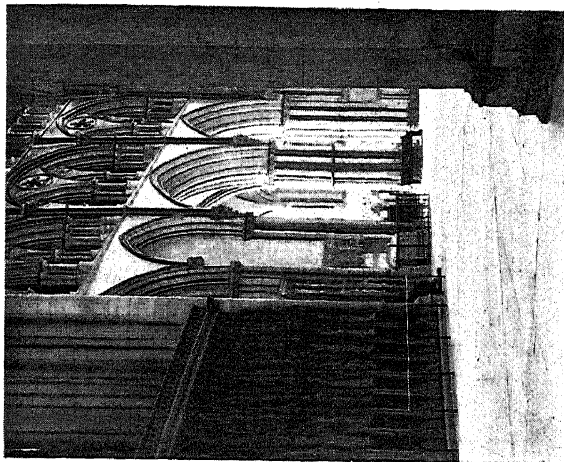
When the nave was widened, the southern pier of this narrow arch was in the middle of the aisle. This inconvenience was suffered for some time. By a bold expedient—all the more bold because of the existence of a large central tower next to the sphere of operations—the position of the two arches south of the tower was at last exchanged. The wide arch was placed next to the tower, to correspond in width to the width of the south aisle of the nave ; and the narrow arch was rebuilt and transferred to the southerly position. An examination of the bases of the rebuilt piers shows, however, that in all four places in the transepts this work was done as part of the building scheme that produced the western bays of the choir and the lantern tower, for all the

bases in question are Perpendicular in style. The awkward arrangement which left one pier in the middle of the north and south aisles of the nave as those aisles joined the transepts was allowed to continue for half a century or more after the nave was completed.

Another example of rebuilding is found in the north transept, between the first and second arches from the north. The base of the pier between these arches is Perpendicular in style. It will be noticed that the arch nearest the lantern tower on the west side of this transept has sunk on its northern side, so that the northern pier very perceptibly leans to the north. On the exterior, the Early English corbel-table above the clerestory arcade on the west side has sunk at the point where it joins the north-west corner of the lantern tower. The piece of it nearest to the tower has been forced nine inches below the other, and has taken with it one of the capitals of the arched panels of the arcade. The explanation of both these irregularities in the masonry—the one inside and the other outside—is that at some period, probably on the completion of the lantern tower up to its present height, the north-western pier gave way for a distance of several inches, dragging with it the displaced fragment of the corbel-table and forcing the pier in question out of the perpendicular. To strengthen the supports of the tower, the Early English pier between the first and second arches of the western arcade of the north transept was rebuilt. It is quite possible, too, that the four solid arches in the transepts were filled in at the same time. This, however, is nothing more than conjecture, as they may have been rebuilt in that way from the first. The answer to those who ask whether it was ever contemplated to place pinnacles or even a spire, on the lantern tower is that after the sinking of the north-western pier any such intention was abandoned.



NAVE—A STUDY IN PIERS



SOUTH TRANSEPT—EASTERN ARCADE

Further dislocations near this pier are evident, but those that have been pointed out are the most obvious.

The elevation of the eight complete compartments of the transept arcades follows on the whole the same design. Each whole bay is divided into the usual three parts—ground arch, triforium, and clerestory. In the nave, and, to some extent, in the choir, this tripartite division is more apparent than real; for there the triforium is little more than a continuation, suitably decorated, of the mullions of the clerestory windows. In the transepts, the most prominent feature of the design of the bays is the triforium. Under a semicircular arch with dog-tooth moulding in both transepts are two pairs of lancet openings, surmounted by a cinquefoil and two quatrefoil openings, the latter of which are carved with dog-tooth. Each compartment in the south transept has five rosettes carved in the spandrels. The clustered pillars that divide the openings consist of slender shafts of stone and Purbeck marble alternately. The capitals are moulded and not carved. Between the arch of the triforium and the horizontal moulding above, the latter of which is plain in the south transept but ornamented with dog-tooth in the north transept, the masonry is plain in the north transept, but in the south transept is relieved with a carved moulding which runs from the capital below to the horizontal moulding above. In the triforiums of each side of each aisle the wall-space between the compartments and the pier that supports the lantern tower is blank except for a circle enclosing a cinquefoil decorated with dog-tooth. Underneath this in the north transept runs a line of plain moulding; by the side of it on the west side of the south transept are two wall-bosses.

The clerestory, which consists of an arcade of five compartments in each bay, three pierced and two

blind, is too small to be effective. The windows are recessed behind several orders of moulding, which are enriched with dog-tooth. The blending of five compartments here with four below emphasizes the complete separation of the upper two portions of the three that form the complete bay.

The ground arches spring from piers with clustered shafts, which have alternately stone and Purbeck marble shafts. Some of the stone shafts have a raised keel for their whole length. An annulet half-way between base and capital is a feature of the design of the piers. The bases are handsome, and are worthy in their moulding of their place in the general scheme of the transepts. They contain the "water-course," a characteristic of Early English bases, and are far more beautiful than the bases of the piers of either the choir or the nave. The capitals are richly carved, mostly with overhanging leaf forms of the *Herba benedicta*. Two in the north transept have representations of figures of harpies, male and female, under the foliage, while on one the devil in the form of a lizard eats the leaves.

Between the capitals of the piers and the line of moulding between the triforium and the clerestory are three slender grouped shafts of Purbeck marble. The corbels from which they start are decorated with several tiers of overhanging foliage. In the south transept the capitals of these shafts are placed slightly above the point at which the arches of neighbouring compartments of the triforium commence; in the north transept the capitals are at the level of the moulding between the triforium and the clerestory. The thrust of the roof is, however, borne not by the three grouped shafts, which do not reach to the floor, and which in any case would be unequal to their work, but by the wall itself at the point from which the stone shafts radiate. The ceiling is of wood in both transepts. The ceiling of the south transept,

like that of the north transept still, was, up to the restoration of 1871 to 1875, covered with lath and plaster. The original ribs and bosses were retained, and the bosses were gilded, but the boards between the ribs were renewed. The bosses are of leaf forms, three exceptions being those which represent (1) a mermaid combing her hair, while a merman holds a mirror before her; (2) a man and a woman with the bodies and the feet of birds; (3) our Lord blessing His people. In the north transept the bosses are of leaf forms and grotesque heads and imaginary animals.

A very curious difference in the ornament of the transept is that while on both sides the moulding of the cornice above the clerestory windows in the north transept is of dog-tooth, in the south transept it is of foliage pattern on the east side and is quite plain on the west side. Many more differences of detail between the two transepts exist than it is possible to point out here; enough has been said about them to show that the north transept is no mere slavish imitation of the south. Yet the main lines on which both are conceived are the same.

Freeman condemned the transepts on the ground that "the feeble clerestory and the broad and sprawling triforium are unsatisfactory." This may be true enough if single bays are considered as units only. There is in the individual bays neither the perfect harmony found at Beverley nor the surpassing beauty of the Angel choir at Lincoln. The answer to Freeman's criticism is that the triforium of the transepts at York Minster does not really overbalance the other portions of the bays because it is overshadowed by the vastness of the transepts. The effect of blemishes in every part of the Minster is greatly diminished by this consideration.

The arcade that runs round the transepts is not uniform in design. That on the south wall of the

south transept springs from a low ledge, and consists of arches of plain lancet shape. On the other walls of the south transept the arches are cusped. In the west aisle the ledge on which they stand is a low one; in the east aisle it is 4 feet 6 inches from the pavement, possibly because of its use in connexion with the chantry chapels that originally existed there. In the north transept the cusped arches of the arcade are of uniform shape, and are decorated with dog-tooth. The capitals are carved with overhanging leaf forms. In the east aisle the compartments of the arcade are shortened by a ledge 2 feet 6 inches from the pavement. Remains of two piscinæ exist in the wall.

One of the most striking differences between the transepts is in the different designs of the south and north walls. From the first the south wall has contained a doorway, which caused a break in the continuity of the arcade. The inside porch is curiously shaped, as above the arch of the doorway is an arch which springs from perpendicular sides and is very low-pitched.

Above the porch is an arcade of six compartments, each containing a pedestal designed for a figure, and each having Purbeck marble shafts. It is not known whether figures ever stood on these pedestals. The gable at the summit of the wall is filled by a sunflower and rose window of late fifteenth-century date. The space between the arcade and the window in the gable lends itself naturally to the window-design that occupies it—two lancet windows at the sides, and a two-light lancet window in the middle. These windows contain Perpendicular glass, which, even representing as it does long figures under canopies, does not fill the lights at all adequately. The figures are those of St. William of York, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Wilfrid. The two recessed lancet windows on each side of the doorway and the arcade above it

are of Peckitt's design ; and nobody can say that his representation of the figures of Abraham, Solomon, Moses, and St. Peter is attractive. The effect of the design of this large south wall is pleasing when the observer is sufficiently far from it to see the whole of it.

Yet the design of the opposite wall easily surpasses it. It is not only that the glass of the Five Sisters window, now happily replaced after preservation, nobly finishes the conception of the architect ; it is also that there could be nothing simpler and more appealing. A continuous arcade, five enormous lancet lights of equal height, deeply recessed, and doubly mullioned, and five smaller lancet lights in the gable, which decrease in height, following the slopes of the roof, from the middle outwards—that is all. White glass in the windows instead of old and new grisaille would take away the richness of the design, but its simplicity would remain. The presence of a doorway in the wall would have completely spoilt the effect of one of the most striking methods ever conceived of relieving an enormous wall-space. It was a most fortunate thing that three doors were provided in the north transept without interfering with the harmony of the design of the middle portion of the north wall.

The chief features of the transepts that have not been hitherto noticed in this general and critical account of them can best be pointed out in an itinerary of them, commencing at the gates leading to the south aisle of the choir. There are two memorials immediately south of the gates : (1) Four statuettes of Simon and Anna (the upper pair), and St. John the Evangelist and St. Cecilia (the lower pair) ; (2) a recumbent figure representing Archbishop Thomson (1867-1890).

Behind the filled-in arch against which the effigy is placed was a chapel, originally much wider, but

narrowed considerably owing to the widening of the choir at the end of the fourteenth century. The figure in the window is that of St. William. Above it is the shield of Robert Wolveden, treasurer from 1426 to 1432.

The stone vault of the east aisle of the south transept is the original one, and it is ribbed, with two central bosses in the two complete bays. The middle bay of this aisle is one of the most interesting spots in the Minster. This bay was chosen by Walter de Gray to be his grave and his chantry chapel. In the year 1241, when, it may be assumed, the transept was just completed, the archbishop directed that on his death he should be buried here, before an altar which he founded, to be dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, and at which Mass was to be said daily for his soul by three priests and one clerk. This was the first example of a chantry in the present building. Some years later another chantry was founded for his soul at the St. Stephen's altar.¹ The effigy of the archbishop, which is now enclosed in an ironrailing erected at the end of the eighteenth century, and surmounted by a canopy supported on nine shafts and decorated with gables and finials, is a most interesting example of thirteenth-century sculpture, and is the finest effigy in the Minster. Very few mediaeval effigies or carved tomb-slabs or brasses remain in the Minster. The re-laying of the pavement of the nave in 1731 gave to the floor a pattern which is best seen, when the nave is empty of chairs, from the triforium, but it deprived it of the many tombstones which it contained. What the re-laying of the pavement of the nave began the fires of 1829 and 1840 completed. No original chantry chapels survive, and the sites of many are not known. These unfortunate circumstances have robbed York Minster of a great deal of interest, and have encouraged unwise speculation on many

¹ See page 91.

points. The preservation of the effigy of Walter de Gray, therefore, is a thing to be thankful for. No other effigy of the same date has been preserved. The figure is represented in full vestments with cope and mitre, but the pallium is missing. In the left hand is a pastoral staff, the lower end of which is thrust into the mouth of a dragon, on which the feet rest. The right hand is raised in blessing. On the finials above the canopy are thrushes, in allusion to the name of the thrush, "the gray bird," the badge of the archbishop's family. These finials are of modern date, and were added by Bernasconi at the end of the eighteenth century. In the fifteenth-century glass of the chapel are figures of St. Michael the Archangel and St. Gabriel. This is one of the few examples that have so far come to light of the connexion between the contents of the glass and a chapel beneath. On the boss in the roof is a figure of St. Michael the Archangel killing the dragon. All traces of the altar and the piscina have disappeared.

To the north and the south of this chapel, between the neighbouring chapels, are two tombs. The one to the north consists of a slab with floriated cross, supported by cusped arches of the same design as those of the arcade round the transepts, and standing on short shafts with square abaci and bases. This is the tomb of Walter de Gray's successor, Sewal de Bovil (1256-1258), information about whose chantry has not yet come to light. The slab with floriated cross to the south is supposed to cover the tomb of Godfrey de Ludham, archbishop from 1258-1265. Support is lent to this supposition by the fact that Thomas de Ludham, Canon of York, founded ¹ in the year 1273 a chantry for his own soul and the souls of his father and mother, and of Godfrey de Ludham, archbishop, at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist. In the

¹ See Appendix II.

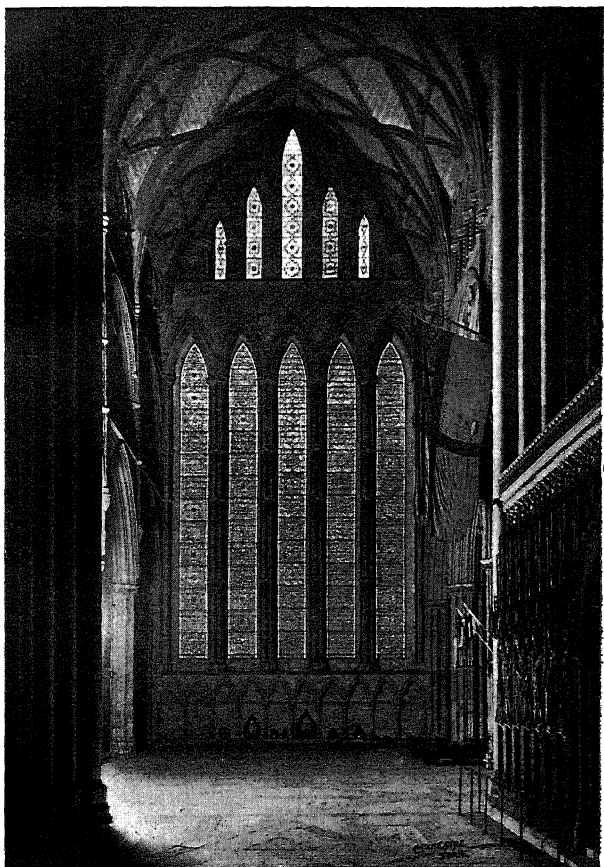
southernmost bay of this aisle there are mutilated figures in the glass of St. John the Baptist and the Virgin and Child. It was by no means an uncommon thing for Masses founded at one altar to be said for a time at another altar ; and in this way the presence of the figure of St. John the Baptist in a window in this chapel might be explained. The presumption is that Ludham was buried here and that this was his chantry chapel. Again there is no trace of either altar or piscina. The boss in the roof represents the Lamb holding a banner.

To the east of the door of the south transept stood the altar and the chapel of St. Blaise—*sub horologio*, the clock now in the north transept having been at one time in the south transept.

The west aisle did not contain any chantry chapel. It is now occupied by the War Memorial Chapel of the West Riding (Prince of Wales's Own) Regiment. Opinions differ as to the suitability of the design both of this chapel and of the corresponding chapel in the north transept to a Gothic building. Each is separated from the rest of the transept by a tall grille richly gilded and otherwise decorated ; and each has a marble Renaissance altar. The three colours in the aisle belong to the regiment, and are as follows : (1) Queen's colour of the 2nd Battalion (the old 14th foot) ; (2) regimental colour of the 2nd Battalion ; (3) regimental colour of the 2/5th Battalion for the war of 1914-1918.

The statue facing south on the south-west pier of the lantern tower is of St. Cuthbert. It was made in 1907.

The west aisle of the north transept is the War Memorial Chapel of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, many of whose memorials were in the aisle before the chapel was opened in May, 1925. In a case on the west wall is kept the " Book of Remembrance " of the regiment for the war of 1914-1918. The chairs in the chapel were all presented



NORTH TRANSEPT AND FIVE SISTERS WINDOW

in memory of individual soldiers. The altar is of marble, and is in severe Renaissance style.

The windows in the aisle, four in the west wall and two in the north wall, are all modern (1861 and 1863), with the exception of the united roses set in plain quarries, a panel which, like the outer ring of glass in the circular window in the gable of the south transept, symbolizes the end of the strife between the Houses of Lancaster and York, and therefore belongs to the end of the fifteenth century. It was through this window that Jonathan Martin, the incendiary of the choir in 1829, made his escape.

The ribs of the vaults of both aisles of the north transept are decorated with dog-tooth. This ornament is absent from the vault of the aisles of the south transept. None of the aisles have bosses except the vault of the west aisle of the south transept.

At the entrance to the regimental chapel, under a grating, is the stone figure of a wasted human body. This is the memorial, albeit a gruesome one, of Thomas Haxey, treasurer from 1418 to 1425. Haxey's tomb, which is not now marked, was a little to the south of this curious relic. It is said that in former times the tenants of the Dean and Chapter paid their rents at the slab over the memorial.

In the chapel are seventeen colours of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, ten of them old and seven of them new. The old colours, some of which are tattered and worn, and one of which has entirely disappeared, belong to the First (1814-1887) and Second (1842-1905) Battalions. The new colours are those gained during the war of 1914-1918 by the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 15th, and 16th Battalions, which were specially raised during the years of the war.

The east aisle of the north transept contained three chantry chapels—one in each bay. The upper

portions of the piscinæ of two of them remain, decorated with dog-tooth. The dedication of the chapel in the north bay is not known. The memorial, with effigy, that it contains is that of Dr. Stephen Beckwith, a generous donor to the city and the Minster. Amongst his benefactions were the peal of twelve bells in the south-west tower in 1843 and the restoration of the chapter house.

Between the northern and the middle bay is the oak screen on the panels of which are the names, arranged according to units, of the women and the girls in whose memory the Five Sisters window was preserved (1923-1925). The chapel in the middle bay was that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, representations of scenes from whose life are the subject-matter of a window in the chapter house. The chapel was restored to use in 1918, and the tomb of Archbishop Rotherham transferred from the Lady Chapel ¹ to form the altar.

The space between the filled-in arch, the handsome Decorated tomb, and the north wall of the choir, now much narrower than it was before the present choir was built, formed originally the Chapel of St. Nicholas, the name applied now to the restored chapel in the middle bay. This is evident from the fact that the figure in the window above the place where the altar stood is a fifteenth-century figure of St. Nicholas, inserted by Wolveden, whose shield is above the figure, at the same time as the remainder of the glass in the east aisles of both transepts. The tomb is that of William Greenfield, archbishop from 1305 to 1314. It is a very fair example of Decorated work, exhibiting as it does on its front and its canopy the prevailing design of the arcade and other portions of the nave, namely, the pointed, crocketed and finialed canopy. The brass on the tomb is one of the earliest brasses known, and is the only example in the Minster of a

¹ See page 87-88.

mediaeval brass,¹ but it is incomplete, the cross-staff, the lower portion of the figure, and the border having disappeared. The archbishop is represented in full vestments with chasuble and pallium. It was behind this tomb that Jonathan Martin hid and thus escaped the vigilance of the Minster authorities on the evening of February 2, 1829, when he set fire to the choir. At the St. Nicholas altar was founded in the year 1346 a chantry by Richard de Cestria,² Canon of York, for the souls of William de Greenfield and others.

The windows in this aisle are "restorations" in the years 1901 and 1902 of the fifteenth-century glass which replaced the original grisaille glass. They represent figures of St. Peter (between the shield of Latimer and his own shield), St. Paul (between the shield of King Edwin³ and a shield of St. Paul, which bears only one sword), St. Lawrence (between the shield of Archbishop Scrope and a shield bearing the gridiron), St. Stephen (between the shield of St. Paul and a shield bearing a crown and foliage), and St. Nicholas (between the shield of Robert Wolveden and the City of York). The old glass can easily be distinguished.

The clock on the wall of the filled-in archway in the north transept was originally, like the figure of the fiddler in the crypt, above the door of the south transept. The chimes are struck on hanging tubes by the hammers of the images of the two men below. The motto round the clock-face reads:—"A solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini. Allelulia." (A paraphrase of Malachi, ch. i, v. 11.) Above are the letters "I H S."

The memorial slab under the clock is in memory of Rear-Admiral Cradock and the battle of Coronel (November 1, 1914). The large flag which hangs

¹ See pages 62-63 and 96 for other and later brasses.

² See Appendix II.

³ Or, quite possibly, St. Edmund or the See of Ely.

above is that of H.M.S. "Glasgow," which survived the battle.

To the north of the gates that admit to the north aisle of the choir are two small statues of King David and Miriam, the sister of Moses. Both are memorials.

CHAPTER V

THE NAVE

THE first impression produced by the nave is one of space and size. Compared with the nave of Beverley, the nave of York suffers in beauty. Compared with the nave of Winchester, it lacks elegance. Like the Minster seen as a whole, it seems to reflect the splendour, the majesty, and the dignity of the mediaeval church, but it hardly speaks of the beauty of holiness. Long as it is, it is not long enough for its breadth; high as it is—almost 100 feet from pavement to ceiling—it is not high enough for its length. If it had windows of plain white glass it would appear ordinary enough except for its size. With twenty-nine windows of mediaeval coloured glass, it has a distinction exceeding that of any other mediaeval building in England.

The building scheme that produced the nave had its beginning at the eastern end of the south wall, where it joins the south transept. The line of the outer walls, south, west, and north, covers a distance of nearly 160 yards. The north and south arcades of large arches, the eastern arch, the clerestory, and the roof completed the scheme. A study of the capitals and of the general method of ornament used throughout the nave shows that in spite of the time occupied from the laying of the foundation stone to the roofing of the building the whole of the nave belongs to the same scheme.

As in the transepts, the piers are clustered. They appear, however, to be more adequate to their work. The shafts are not quite separate from the main pier; no Purbeck marble is used; and there

is no annulet half-way between base and capital. The moulded base of each shaft stands on a double pedestal of octagonal section. Each pier has twelve shafts—three facing north, three south, three east, and three west. Each member of the twelve has its own function, and ends in its own capital, from which spring arch-mouldings. The capitals of all except the three on the nave side form a band round three-quarters of the pier. The three shafts which face inwards are continued upwards without capitals. From the smaller two, figures project at points just above the level of the pier capitals, from which spring the outer arch-mouldings. The smaller shafts are then continued upwards, with the larger middle shafts, to a tripartite capital just above the level of the sill of the clerestory windows. From the two side capitals spring the arch-mouldings that form the setting of the clerestory and the triforium. From the middle capital spring the ribs that support the vault. It will be noticed that these ribs are of stone for a short distance, and that they are then succeeded by wood.

In spite of the great width of the middle portion of the nave, a heritage from Thomas's time, a distance of about 45 feet from face to face of the innermost shafts, the fact that these shafts do not end in capitals at the level of the other capitals shows that the builders intended them to be part of the supports for a stone vault. In modern times, and up to the year 1906, the buttresses of the walls of the south aisle had pinnacles, but only the beginnings of flying buttresses. The corresponding buttresses on the north side stopped short at the level of the roof of the aisle wall. The question as to whether both sides originally possessed flying buttresses is one on which old prints do not agree. It is referred to again on page 109. The present ceiling, like the old ceiling which it replaced after the fire of 1840, is of wood. It

is unfortunate that the builders made it so flat. When Roger's choir was in existence, this defect would not be so apparent as it is now, for the nave ceiling would be much higher than the Transitional choir ceiling. It suffers by comparison with the present choir, which, slightly narrower than the nave in its middle part, was carried up to a point three feet higher in steeper curves. While the arch at the east end and the arch of the west window are steeply pitched, the curve of the ceiling does not follow their lines, and the nave loses greatly in effect.

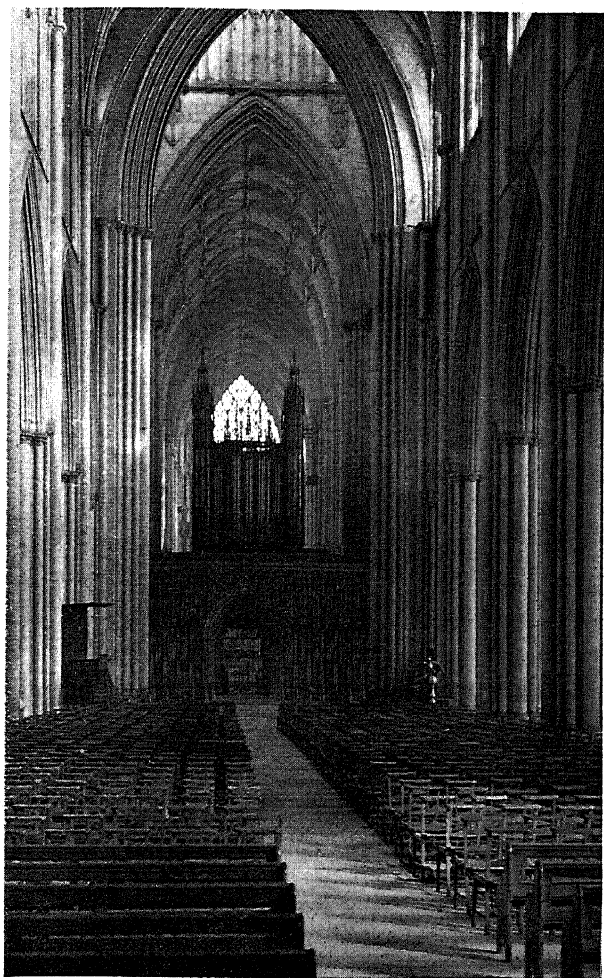
The present ceiling is a reproduction of the original. Most fortunately, in the winter of 1834-1835 Mr. John Browne made careful drawings of the bosses, so that after the fire it was possible to reproduce many of them. From the west end the subjects of the key-bosses are as follows: (1) the Annunciation; (2) the Nativity; (3) the Adoration of the Magi; (4) the Resurrection; (5) the Ascension, which consists only of heads and of the soles of the feet of the disappearing figure of our Lord; (6) the Descent of the Holy Ghost, in which the mouths of the Apostles are connected with the mouth of the Dove by a tube; (7) the Assumption of the Virgin; (8) the Coronation of the Virgin. Each of these eight bosses is not less than 3 feet in diameter, and projects about 18 inches from the ceiling. The other bosses are not all reproductions of the originals. For example, a large number of those which cover the junctions of the ribs with the walls of the clerestory above the windows were sculptured with forms that are now missing, such as a heron and a "spoonbill," a man carving the figure of a swan, two mermaids (one holding a squirrel and the other combing her hair) and two monkeys. Only a few of the bosses between the walls and the central rib are carved with forms of men and animals. The following can easily be

distinguished in a good light with the naked eye : a man whose leg is being bitten by a dragon and who has his sword raised to kill the dragon ; another man who has run his sword through a dragon's body ; two men, one armed with bow and arrow, and the other with a shield and spear ; a huntsman and his dog, with another man who is gathering fruit. Most of these are set in borders consisting of leaves of oak, thorn, ivy, and maple.

The nave is built in eight bays, seven of them on each side of uniform size, and the eastern two narrower. The piers that support the arches have already been described. Above the mouldings of the arches, some of which are ribbed, is a plain cornice. In the spandrels are shields, which are made of stone and are not coloured. Like those in the choir, they are held by figures, the heads of which project above the tops of the shields. The bearings of most of the shields are difficult to distinguish, as they are not so deeply cut as those in the choir. The shields are as follows :

NORTH SIDE (starting from the west end)

- 1st bay.—Both shields, a fesse dancettée for Vavasour.
- 2nd and 3rd bays.—All four shields, three water-bougets for Roos.
- 4th bay.—Billettée, a lion rampant for Bulmer ; and barry of three chaplets for Greystock.
- 5th bay.—A cross moliné for Latimer ; and quarterly, in the first quarter a mullet of five points for Vere.
- 6th bay.—A fesse between six crosses crosslet for Beauchamp ; and a bend cottised between six lions rampant for Bohun.
- 7th bay.—Barry of ten an orle of ten martlets for Valence ; and on a chevron three lions passant guardant for Cobham.



NAVE, LOOKING EAST

8th bay.—Six lions rampant a horn to the west for Savage or Leybourne ; and semée of fleur-de-lis for Old France.

SOUTH SIDE (starting from the east end)

1st bay.—Three lions passant guardant, for England before 1340 ; and the same with a label of five points on each three fleur-de-lis for Lancaster.

2nd bay.—A cross sarcellée for Beck ; and chevrons for Clare.

3rd bay.—A fesse dancettée for Vavasour ; and a bend, for Mauley.

4th bay.—Same, for Mauley ; and same with three crosses crosslet on the bend for Mauley.

5th bay.—A fesse in chief three roundels for Colville ;¹ and two bars in chief three roundels for Wake.

6th bay.—Both shields checky for Warrenne.

7th bay.—On both shields a lion rampant for either Percy or Mowbray or Fauconberg.

8th bay.—Both shields, five fusils in fesse for Old Percy.

The ascription of these shields to individuals was suggested by Dean Purey-Cust, but his conclusions and the arguments by which he supported them cannot be given here.

The cornice above the ground arches is interrupted by the line of shafts that run from the floor to a point well above its level. The compartment above the cornice is really one, though technically two—triforium and clerestory—and is divided into five panels by the mullions of the clerestory windows, which are continued downwards as the dividing lines of the triforium. The openings of the triforium have no parapet, as they have in the choir. In the middle compartment of each of the five openings there stood

¹ The mark made by a second bar, which has disappeared, is distinct. The shield may have been originally for Wake.

originally a figure on a pedestal. Only three on each side remain, and all except the figure of St. George on the south side have been mutilated.

The heads of the triforium are pointed, and the sides are ornamented with crockets and surmounted with finials, which represent conventional forms of the leaves of the thorn, the oak, and the vine. This form of decoration is found in every part of the nave, both in the stonework and in the glass. The clerestory windows, all of five lights, have a massive stone "wheel" tracery, with four broad "spokes," and with two quatrefoils and two triangular compartments to fill up the remaining space. Altogether, the impression produced by the nave arcade is one of incompleteness. For work of the Decorated period it is unsatisfactory.

The bays of the wall arcades in the aisles are more satisfactory. The responds between the bays are of three shafts springing from bases which are a smaller replica of the bases of the piers in the nave. The capitals of these responds, like those of the nave piers, are carved with representations of the leaves and the fruit of the thorn, the oak, the maple, and the vine. From each capital spring three clustered ribs which support the vault, which, like that of all the aisle roofs, is of stone. The wall arcade, of six compartments in each bay, stands between the ledge and the sills of the windows. Each compartment has two panels and tracery of the trefoil and the quatrefoil. The whole is surmounted by a gable which is crocketed and finialed. Each aisle window consists of three lights with circular "head and shoulders" and with three quatrefoils and four very small openings for tracery. By each side of each window is a long, narrow compartment of two panels and tracery, in design similar to that of the compartments of the arcade below. The sides of the canopies spring from carvings of grotesque heads.

Each compartment of the vault has a boss at each side, at the junction of two ribs, and one in the middle at the junction of four ribs. These bosses are carved with the same leaf forms that are found in other parts of the nave.

The west wall impels attention because of the over-elaboration of its decoration. The lower arcade is interrupted by three doorways. The great west doorway is divided into two by a stone mullion on which is a statue of St. Peter, who holds the keys. This is the only statue of St. Peter that is left in the Minster. The original doors were destroyed in the fire of 1840. Above the doorway is a quantity of decorated glass in a circular window of six trefoil compartments and a smaller one at each side. The glass is mutilated, but it contains figures of a king and others which are fragmentary.

The doorway is placed under a large, pointed, crocketed, and finialed gable, of the kind found all over the nave. This gable contains three niches, now empty; the kneeling angels at each side suggest that the middle niche contained the figure of our Lord. Under the figures of the angels are shields—the southern one for Plantagenet (bearing three leopards couchant guardant) and the other for Leybourne or Savage (bearing six lions rampant 3, 2, and 1).

The openings for the two remaining doorways are so lofty that the sills of the two windows above them are higher than the sills of the other side windows of the nave, and these two windows are correspondingly smaller. Below the windows and above the doors are sculptures which represent, on the north side: (*a*) a man with short hair, being awakened out of sleep—possibly Delilah saying to Samson, “The Philistines be upon thee, Samson”; (*b*) Samson cutting off the tails of the foxes, while his companion blows a hunting horn; (*c*) Jacob wrestling with the angel (?). The

last subject is uncertain. The first and the third of these, as on the south side, are set in medallions of stone.

The three corresponding sculptures on the south side represent: (*a*) Samson astride a lion, opening its jaws, while Delilah cuts off his hair; (*b*) a figure in barrel-shaped helmet and loose-fitting coat over a suit of chain armour, with shield, sword, and sword-belt; (*c*) the questioning of Samson by Delilah.

On each side of each of the aisle windows of the west wall is a compartment of an arcade of similar design to the arcade of the nave. The two inside compartments are shortened to half the design. Below the sill of each of the aisle windows is an arcade of six niches divided into two groups of three by the doorway. These niches, like most of the others on the west wall, retain their pedestals, which have leaf and other carvings of great detail, which are not noticed as they ought to be.

The greatest detail, however, on this wall is below and round the west window. Above the lower arcade, which is a continuation of the nave arcade, and below the sill of the window, are, on each side of the doorway, three double niches with pedestals, and two smaller niches. On each side of the window itself are two rows of three niches, which retain their pedestals. A curious feature of these pedestals is that only the lower three on each side have their bases carved.

The remainder of the space between the window and the arch in which it is set is filled with twenty-eight long, narrow niches, fourteen on each side, which probably never had either pedestals or figures. From the triforium a good view can be obtained of the carvings on the gables of these. They are covered with the dust of nearly a century, but they retain much of their original beauty. From the triforium also can be seen the single-gabled compartments

which occupy the whole of the space between the plane of the window, which is deeply recessed, and the plane of the wall. They meet at the summit of the window in a handsome boss.

Like the capitals of the nave, the west wall contains details of great beauty. Especially noteworthy are the carvings of the crockets and the finials of the gables of the lower series of arcades, which are more elaborate than those of the nave arcade, though of the same style, and those of the gables by the sides of the window, which cannot be seen from the pavement. The details of York Minster have suffered because of its great size. The capitals of the nave piers, which are nearly 25 feet from the floor, reveal in places great skill and artistry—here a group of roses, there a scroll of thorn leaves; and the under-cutting of these deserves to be noticed. On the whole, the nave capitals follow no one design, several of them in the eastern bays consisting of a double row of small leaves. Those at the west end, however, are in the form of sprays of great beauty, and are amongst the best things of their period to be seen. They are a great advance on the conventional carvings of foliage in the transepts.

In the second bay from the west in the north aisle is an old doorway which is blocked up on the outside. The door is set in a pointed gable, and is surmounted by a pedestal, with carved head underneath, on which stands, under a broken canopy with ribbed ceiling, the figure of a female saint. The head and the right hand have been cut off, and the left hand holds a cushion on which a book rests. On each side of the pedestal are shields of France (*semée* of fleur-de-lis), and England (before 1340). The two carved angels, one on each side of the chief figure, have been mutilated. Each had a hand raised in greeting. This doorway led to a chapel which was built by Archbishop Roger at the north-west corner of

Archbishop Thomas's nave, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Angels. This chapel was endowed with eleven churches, the revenues from which paid for the services in the chapel of four priests, four deacons, four sub-deacons, and a sacrist. From excavations made by Browne it is clear that the chapel was built with its axis north-east and south-west, and that a corner of it had to be demolished when the present nave was built. The remains of the foundations, however, are so incomplete that it is not safe to argue with certainty from them anything except the general position of the chapel. A blocked-up doorway on the western face of the second buttress from the west on the north side of the nave was considered by Browne to have led by means of a spiral staircase to the upper portions of the chapel. That there was an upper floor is evident from the remains of a doorway several feet from the ground on the north face of this buttress. There are also indications of the position of the gable roof of the chapel, which appears to have been a considerable structure. It is not known how long the chapel lasted. It was probably demolished at the Reformation.

To the east of the blocked-up doorway of the chapel, in the third bay from the west, is a tomb set in the wall. Above the slab is a broad canopy of late Perpendicular design. It has a ribbed ceiling, and the low archway is of several orders of plain moulding and one row of carved leaves. At the summit is a crowned figure supported by two angels. In the spandrels are two delicately-carved angels who carry long censers. The ornament on the lower face of the tomb, below the slab, consists of four quatrefoils within a circle and enclosing a double rose. It is impossible to state who was buried in the tomb.

On the south wall of the nave, at the east end, under the first window from the east, is a brass which is complete except for one of the shields. The

inscription records that under that spot was buried James Cotrel, esquire, a member of the Council of the North under Queen Elizabeth, who died on August 31, 1595. The figure, represented in the dress of a gentleman of the time, with ruff, has a book in the right hand, from which comes the scroll: "*Creator non creata*," and has the right hand raised. Near the head are the words: "*Veni Domine Jesus sic etiam. Amen.*" ("Even so, come, Lord Jesus. Amen.") The left-hand shield bears a bend between three escallops (for Cotrel); the right-hand shield has another (the marks on it are deleted) impaling the same. One brass in the north transept, this one in the nave, and one in the choir ¹—these are all the brasses before 1600 that are left in the Minster; and only the first of these belongs to the Middle Ages.

¹ See pages 50-51 and 96.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHAPTER HOUSE AND THE VESTIBULE

THE chapter house is joined to the north transept by a right-angled passage known as the vestibule, to which access is gained through a double door in the north wall of the east aisle of the north transept. The doors appear to be the original ones, as they are Decorated in style. Some of the lower panels are closed ; the upper ones are pierced with geometrical tracery. The cusped arches above them are surmounted by a heavy stone gable, at the sides of which in the spandrels are two circles each of which contains an ornamented quatrefoil. From the finial at the top of the gable three ribs radiate to the lines of the pointed arch in which the whole design is set. Fragments of the original Early English wall are to be seen in a compartment of the arcade which flanks each side of the door, and in the heads of two lancet lights, now blind, above. The sacrifice of the Early English work on this side of the doorway, as on the inside, is hardly compensated for by the heavy and clumsy tracery which has replaced it.

The doors open into a narrow porch which is of the thickness of the wall of the north transept. As on the transept side, so on the vestibule side, a clustered pillar divides the doorway down the middle into two lancet-shaped arches, each of which contains an inner cusped arch. A third arch joins the two middle pillars. The ceiling of the porch is disappointingly flat and plain.

The wall above the doorway on the inside reveals the manner in which the Decorated work of the vestibule has been joined to the Early English work



CHAPTER HOUSE DOOR

of the transept. As on the transept side, the Early English work has been needlessly sacrificed. Two panels of the buttress to the west of the door remain, and, like the exterior wall of the transept of which originally they formed part, they are handsomely ornamented with dog-tooth mouldings. Above them is a sloping ledge, from which spring one complete panel of Early English design and another imperfect panel of the same design.

Above the doorway the Early English work has been hidden by a wall the flatness of which is relieved by the outline of a four-light window. Over each pair of lights is a quatrefoil, and, at the summit, a cinquefoil. To take the place of coloured glass, drawings of shields, remains of which are left, were placed between the mullions and at the sides. Only one heraldic colour, *gules*, appears to have been used. The blunt arch over the window-space is of several orders of moulding, which include one row of dog-tooth. Across the space between this arch and the line of the vault is a cornice of simple leaves in a zigzag design. A small piece of the Early English wall of the transept may be seen recessed above this. On the west side a rib of the vault cuts right through the Early English work.

A broad ledge runs for the whole length of the vestibule on each side. Above this ledge is an arcade of pure Decorated design. Each compartment consists of two panels bounded by slender clustered shafts each of which springs from an octagonal base. Each panel has a cusped arch. The capitals have carvings of foliage and grotesque forms of birds with tails and human heads, heads with horns, winged animals such as the cockatrice, and human heads joined on each side to the bodies of dragons. The capital to the south of the chapter house door represents the flaying of St. Bartholomew. The undercutting of these sculptures, while not so distinguished

as that to be found at Southwell, is really of a high order, and deserves more notice than is usually bestowed on it.* The tracery above each pair of panels in the arcade is of the wheel shape, each wheel containing a cinquefoil with a boss in the centre. These bosses, twenty-two in number, display carvings of foliage or of heads, and are not found elsewhere in York Minster in a wall arcade.

A curious feature of this arcade is that under the northernmost window on the west wall the arches of the panels lean inwards.

The arrangement of the windows in the vestibule raises the question as to whether the passage was planned at the same time as the chapter house, or whether it was built later. At first sight, the number of lights in the windows—on the west, 2, 4, and 5 ; on the north, 5 and 5 ; on the south, 4 ; and on the east, 3 and 3—gives the impression either of bad planning from the first or of the addition of the passage when its limits were fixed by the chapter house and the north transept. The part of the passage which runs from east to west appears to be more regularly and symmetrically planned than the part which runs from north to south. A closer examination, however, reveals that both parts are planned in regular bays. On each side of the chapter house door is a blind four-light window of long, narrow lights, in which are remains of painted shields, and the tracery over which contains quatrefoils, trefoils, and a sexfoil above all. These two window-spaces are blind because of the position of buttresses outside. To the west of these "windows" are, on the north side, two equally broad windows of five lights each, and, on the south side, a window of apparently four, but really five, lights, one being blind owing to the junction of the walls at the right-angled corner of the passage. If the line of the south wall of the vestibule is continued westwards to meet the west

wall, the design of this part of the vestibule is seen to be symmetrical, for each bay below a window contains three compartments of the arcade, and each window (including the northernmost window on the west wall) is of five lights, and contains elaborate tracery of wheel shape and of trefoils, both circular and pointed. The window immediately to the west of the blind window on the north side is shorter than the other five-light windows. There is no apparent reason for this on the inside, as the doorway under it does not cut into the moulding above the arcade ; on the outside, however, a tall porch surmounts the doorway, and has compelled the shortening of the window above it.

This portion of the vestibule, therefore, is now seen to be of symmetrical design.

An examination of the portion at right angles to it shows that it, too, was planned as regularly as circumstances permitted. On the east side, the two windows, apparently of three lights, are really of four, for the two outside lights of the eight, on which there were painted shields, are blind owing to the position of the stonework outside. Each of these two windows occupies the space of two compartments of the arcade below, and is therefore narrower than the broader five-light windows that have been noticed above. Opposite to the more northerly of these two windows is a four-light window, which, as no buttress is in the way, has every light glazed. Under it are two compartments of the arcade. The series of windows is completed by the curious two-light window on the west wall. This could not be made any wider owing to the projecting buttress into which the west wall is built. But for this buttress the window would have been of four lights, and there would have been two compartments of the arcade underneath it instead of one broad compartment. The tracery of this two-light window is very curious, with a stone gable at

its commencement, above which are trefoils, both circular and pointed. The trefoil is used again in the design of the tracery of the four-light windows. All the windows in the vestibule are recessed on sloping sills.

What appears therefore to be a structure of irregular design dictated by the necessity of building a right-angled passage the limits of which were set by two previously-existing buildings has been shown to be the result of a careful plan in which such irregularities as appear at first sight vanish when the building is further examined. It is practically certain that it was planned and commenced at the same time as the chapter house.

The breadth of the bays below, from the ends of which the vault springs, determines the size of the compartments of the vault. In the vestibule, the first two compartments from the transept are smaller than those over the other portion of the passage. All are, however, similarly designed, with stone ribs, central bosses, and white diamonds on a red ground painted along the sides of the ribs. The vault is apparently of stone. Of the nine bosses in the ceiling, all are of foliage except the boss above the point where the passage turns, which represents a lamb and a banner.

In the vestibule are several relics of the past, including old doors and four fragments of the old roof of the chapter house. The paintings on the latter have faded, but they still show the mitred head, the cross-staff, and part of the coped figure of an ecclesiastic, a figure holding a banner, and another holding a staff and three arrows pointing downwards. The last may be the figure of King Edmund, saint and martyr.

In the corner of the vestibule stand two quadrant-shaped cope-chests. The one farthest from the transept is obviously the older of the two, with its

covering of leather and its more simple ironwork. It measures 6 feet 8 inches in radius, and 21 inches in depth, and belongs most probably to the early thirteenth century. The other, which is 6 feet 5 inches by 25 inches in measurement, has no leather covering, and, from the resemblance in many ways of the ironwork on it to that on the doors of the chapter house, may be ascribed to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Each stands on three plain square pedestals.

The double doorway which leads into the chapter house forms, with the wall above it, the only internal outer side of the building. The doorway is divided into two by a central clustered pillar on a base consisting of a section of an octagon under each shaft of the cluster. Under the main moulded archway of the doorway are two cusped arches, and in the mouldings may be observed remains of the blue and red colour which originally decorated them. Above these two arches is a large quatrefoil, which still has metal fastenings in it for statues. On the central pillar is a restored image of the Virgin and Child, only the heads being new. The Virgin stands on a pedestal formed by the figures of a lion and a dragon in combat. She is crowned, and she holds a lily, and the Child holds orb and cross. The figures are under a pointed canopy surmounted originally by a finial which has been broken off. On each side of the top of the doorway a niche remains in the wall, and still contains its pedestal and hook.

The doors are the original doors. The ironwork on them, which includes portions of the handles, is of elegant design. The doors are oblong in shape, and do not fill the space occupied by the arches.

Above the doorway the space of flat wall is occupied by a blind window, slightly recessed, and not so large as, but of similar design to, those in the chapter house. The large circle in the tracery, however,

contains only a septfoil, and not a ninefoil, as in the chapter house. The porch between the vestibule and the chapter house is designed on the same plan as the porch at the other end of the vestibule. It leads direct into one of the most perfect examples of Gothic architecture in this country.

The practice of speaking in superlatives about buildings and their decoration cannot be commended. The inscription ¹ to the left of the door at the entrance of the chapter house, however, contains a boast that is surely justified. The modern tiled floor, the painted roof, and the new glass—a copy of the old—in the window opposite to the door, all marks of the restoration under the will of Dr. Beckwith in the years from 1843 to 1845, are blemishes on the original beauty of this chamber, but they leave it internally still the most graceful and elegant structure of its kind in this country. Like the rest of the Minster, it is very large; everything at York Minster is on an enormous scale. But whereas the effect of the nave is flat and on the whole uninteresting, and the very size of the building impresses itself so much that the beauty of some of the details escapes the eye, in the chapter house Decorated art is found at its most obvious and at its best. The impression of mere size is hidden by perfect proportion—for the chapter house is about as high as its axis is long. Few would not admit that on the outside the buttresses, excellently designed in themselves, appear to be too massive; on the inside, however, all the stonework is grace and lightness, and the masonry of the walls is nothing but a frame for the glass. The absence of heavy stonework, indeed, explains the need for enormous buttresses. The steep pitch of the roof, too, produces just the right effect inside. In proportions and delicacy the chapter house of York

¹ UT ROSA PHLOS PHLORUM SIC EST DOMUS ISTA DOMORUM ("As the rose is the flower of flowers, so is this house the house of houses").

Minster stands alone. It reveals Decorated art at its fullest and its best.

The absence of a central pillar is often commented on. If the building had a stone vault this comment might be justified. Most people would be satisfied to see a central shaft, or a cluster of shafts, as at Wells and Lincoln, if the roof were vaulted and groined and bossed. The York builders seem to have been too timid to attempt the boldest of all architectural feats, the vault. So the chapter house has a wooden ceiling and no central pillar, and from all points the effect of each bay and the details of the glass can be studied without any interruption.

Seven of the eight sides are uniform in design; the eighth contains the door and no window, but is uniform with the others in size. The design of each side is threefold: (1) ledge, stall, and canopy, the upper part of the canopies forming the parapet of a passage in front of the windows all round the building; (2) window and its setting; (3) wooden ceiling. Each compartment of the ceiling tapers to a point at the top, where all the sides of the octagonal pyramid meet in a point.

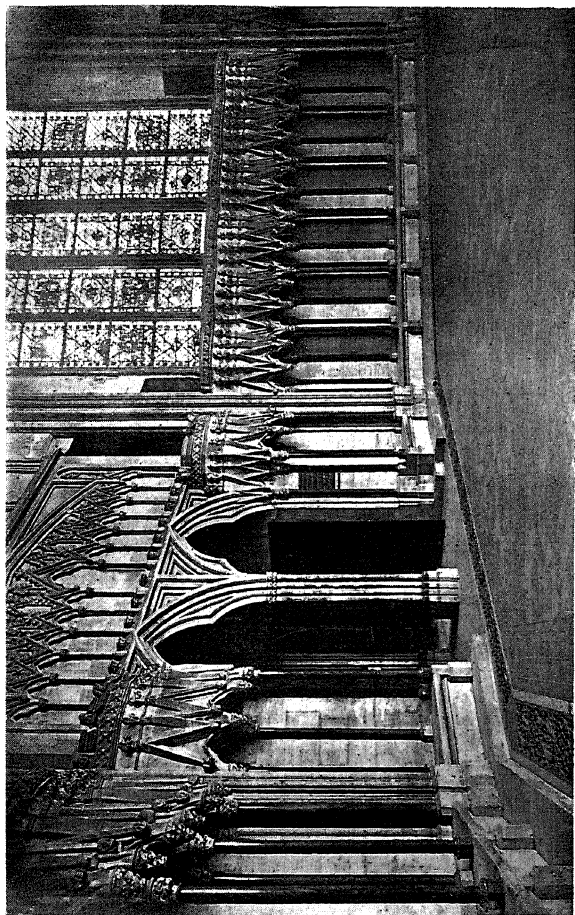
The ledge forms the seat of the stalls, of which there are forty-four—six on each wall and one on each side of the door. Each seat is semi-octagonal in plan and is deeply recessed. At the angular points are slender shafts of Purbeck marble, the back four of which are detached and stand on moulded stone bases, and the front two of which stand on moulded marble bases. All have carved stone sculptures for capitals except one, which is simply moulded. Amongst the sculptures on the recessed capitals are representations of a friar and a nun, a cat chasing a mouse through foliage, three heads in the midst of leaves, a lion attacking a man, a man and a woman gathering fruit, and birds eating fruit. The undercutting of these is deep and skilfully done,

From these capitals and from the other angular points of the octagon spring ribs which meet in bosses and form the roofs of the stalls. Some of these bosses are of roses, and some of the heads of animals.

The canopies above the stalls are octagonal in plan, and the three front faces of each are ornamented with gables, at the points of which, both above and below, are sculptures. Those above form finials which are of leaf shapes; those below, over 250 in number, include sculptures of grotesque animals, three representations of a king who is seized by the nose by a vulture, by the crown by another animal, and by the hair by a winged animal, and heads of all kinds—ladies, monks, kings, queens, bishops, etc. In addition, the carvings of the chapter house comprise two carved pendants to each canopy at its front points, eighty-eight in all, which are of leaves of various kinds, even including the hop and the strawberry. The leaves are frequently arranged with their under surfaces exposed to the eye. One pendant shows a snake in the leaves; another is of birds entirely, whose beaks seize stalks, and whose wings are extended; the lower faces of others represent men making grimaces. The finials which surmount the gables exhibit a variety of forms. Of the 228, no two are alike. Each is about 18 inches high, except those nearest the door, which are smaller. Nearly all exhibit natural forms, such as those of the oak, with acorns, and the thorn.

It is impossible here to do justice to the beauty and the detail of the carvings which the chapter house contains. Originally the sculptures were coloured. Up to the restoration in 1843–1845, traces of the colouring remained, but nothing like enough to show the harmony of colour that existed between them and the windows.

Above the finials is a cornice, which runs round



CHAPTER HOUSE---DOORWAY AND STALLS

the whole of the building except the doorway, ornamented with the leaves and the fruit of the vine.

It is impossible not to be struck with the beauty and the perfect proportions of the stalls and their canopies. Most people miss the groined roofs of the stalls. The plainness of the semi-octagonal backs of the stalls, relieved only by the Purbeck marble shafts, and unrelieved by any shaping or arm-rests, throws into bold relief the richness of the sculptures of the canopies above. Whatever the temptation might be to sleep during services to those who occupied the more comfortable wooden stalls in the choir, there was none during meetings of the chapter in the chapter house. A stone seat, a straight back, and absence of arm-rests all conduced to wakefulness.

Above the stalls are the massive windows, so far (1926) not "preserved." All except the modern copy of the original east window are protected on the outside by screens of glass in plain quarries set a few inches from the old glass. Each window is uniform in size and shape, and contains five long lights and tracery above. The mullions have capitals, from which cusped arches spring to form the "head and shoulders" of each light. As with the tracery of the clerestory windows in the nave and of the larger of the vestibule windows, a stone wheel is the chief feature of the design of the tracery. Each pair of side lights has over it a smaller wheel the inside of which is cinquefoiled; the middle light is surmounted by an elongated trefoil. Over all are the three large wheels, one above two, and the effect of relieving the inner line of each circle by means of nine small semicircles is very fine indeed, and a great improvement on the "spoke" formation found in the stone circles at the top of the clerestory windows in the nave. The arrangement of the tracery of the chapter house windows is amongst the most elaborate to be met with anywhere; and yet the simple

geometrical form of the circle is hardly departed from. The method of window-design used here is, so far as York Minster is concerned, unique. In every other part of the building, with the exception of the north transept, the canopy is used freely. Here there is not a single canopy. The shape of the lights forbade the use of it unless the subjects had been arranged in at least three rows. A species of design of Norman and Early English date was revived in the medallion, and the alternate rows of glass were filled with grisaille. The foliage of oak, maple, ivy, thorn, and strawberry, which is represented in outline on the grisaille, is connected by a series of branches with a central stem which issues from the mouth of an imaginary animal with the head, shoulders, and front legs of a quadruped and the feathered body of a legless bird—the same idea as in the Jesse window. The grisaille background is relieved, as in the Five Sisters window, with insertions of coloured glass arranged in outlines of geometrical shapes. The wheels in the tracery are filled with shields representing well-known coats-of-arms. The details of the whole design may be studied in the modern east window. The general effect of the windows is entirely satisfactory, as may be tested by standing in the porch and blotting out the modern window by the inner central pillar of the doorway.

Inside as well as outside, the doorway is divided, as has been already noticed, by means of a clustered pillar, round the base of which runs an annulet of Purbeck marble at nearly the same height from the pavement as the ledge which forms the seat of the chapter house. The doorway has already been noticed. Above the doorway is an arcade of thirteen niches with pedestals, the middle one of which is larger than the others. All have cusped arches set under pointed gables crocketed and finialed.

Halfpenny shows them filled with figures, probably of our Lord and His Apostles. Above the end there are two niches which retain their figures of angels. The whole arcade is crowned with a low-pitched arch-moulding, the spandrels above which are now plain, but are shown by Halfpenny as containing two figures of angels with censers. Between the arch-moulding and the intervals between the gables beneath is a row of smaller arches which appear to be a restoration, as Halfpenny's etching does not show them. The upper portion of the design of the west wall is occupied by the mullions and the tracery of a blind window, which are of the same design as those of the windows of the chapter house. Halfpenny's drawing shows these to have been occupied by paintings of kings, queens, and ecclesiastics in two rows; but all trace of these has disappeared.

Like the tiled floor which it spans, the present ceiling, a heritage of the "restoration" of 1843-1845, which was carried out at the expense of Dr. Beckwith, is unworthy of the building. Its design of blue and red patterns on a neutral-tinted ground is conventional in the extreme. Plate No. 102 of Halfpenny's collection shows an interior view of the chapter house, looking west. The floor was apparently of stone. From the central boss of the ceiling, which, then, as now, represented the Lamb, radiated, as at present, sixteen ribs to the capitals of the clustered piers at the angular points and to the points of the windows. At equal distances from the central boss, again as at present, there were smaller bosses, joined by short ribs to form a regular polygon of sixteen sides. The flat triangular spaces within this polygon were ornamented with birds and conventional designs on a neutral ground and between coloured borders of flower and leaf patterns. The long, tapering spaces outside the polygon were filled

with figures of mitred bishops and archbishops and female saints, prominent amongst whom was St. Katherine, whose life forms the subject-matter of the window on the north of the door. There were thirty-two such figures in all, four in each set of radiating ribs.

The chapter house, being built to be the meeting-place of the Dean and Chapter, was not consecrated. It is no longer used for its original purpose except when chapter meetings are opened. Because it is so difficult to heat, and because of the echo which every sound made in it produces, chapter meetings are then adjourned to the Zouche chapel. On the east wall the two Purbeck marble shafts at the sides of each stall both stand on bases of the same material ; in the other stalls only the outermost shafts have Purbeck marble bases. The six stalls on the east side were apparently those of the dean and certain of the other dignitaries. Halfpenny's etching does not show any trace of the names of the prebends which were almost certainly, as still in some chapter houses, attached to the stalls ; and there is no modern need of name-plates. It would add to the interest of the building, however, to see the names of the prebends once again attached to the stalls.

In the course of its existence of six centuries, the chapter house has been put to a variety of uses other than the one for which it was built. In days when the chapter possessed much property both in York and in other places, tenants, suitors, defaulters, and others presented here their petitions to the Dean and Chapter. On February 15, 1418, Richard Scrope, Lord of Bolton, and others, were summoned to appear in the chapter house before the abbot of St. Mary's, York (appointed commissary in the absence of the dean), Archbishop Bowet, and the canons, to answer a charge of assaulting one of the servants of Richard Cawood, one of the canons, in the Minster

itself. They were adjudged guilty and compelled to make amends and do penance. Again, Richard III was crowned king here by Archbishop Rotherham, and his young son was invested with the regalia of the Prince of Wales. Continuously, too, during the Middle Ages, the chapter house was used for the minting of coins, the archbishops having the power to issue coins, which were struck on dies belonging to the royal mint.

To come to modern times, the meeting at which it was decided to issue an appeal for the sum of £50,000 for the preservation of the mediaeval windows of York Minster was held on November 9, 1920, in the chapter house, and was addressed by H.R.H. the Duke of York.

CHAPTER VII

THE LADY CHAPEL AND THE CHOIR

THE three-story elevation of York Minster begun by the builders of the transepts was continued throughout. The result is a unity of general appearance, both inside and outside. This unity is, however, more noticeable in comparing the nave and the choir than in comparing either of these with the transepts. Although the eastern arm, which consists of the choir and the Lady chapel, was built as the result of two efforts, separated by an interval of possibly as much as seven years, the same design, except for a few details, was followed throughout.

A fair comparison can hardly be made between the effect produced by the nave and that produced by the eastern arm. For not only are the three eastern bays cut off from the other six bays by the tall screen behind the high altar, and the lower part of these six bays filled on each side with the carved stalls and a screen of glass and wood, but also the floor of the choir proper rises from west to east by a series of steps. In spite of this, however, the choir seems to be loftier and better proportioned than the nave. In its middle portions, it is both a little narrower and a little higher. And the effect of the whole is a more lofty one, and the individual bays in the Lady chapel, where they can be studied without interruption from pavement to ceiling, are far more interesting and far less flat and monotonous. The effect of loftiness is produced by the shape of the curve of the springing arches, which, commencing a little lower than those of the nave, follow the curves of the arch at the west end and the arch of the east

window far more closely than is the case in the nave.

The appearance of flatness which is a blemish to the bays of the nave is entirely avoided in the eastern arm, largely because the triforium is better designed. On the whole, the general appearance of the choir, even with its modern carving, is very noble.

The ground arches are built on the same plan as those of the nave, with twelve clustered shafts round a central column, each composite pier supported on a moulded base which stands on an octagonal plinth. The inner group of three smaller shafts that face inwards towards the middle are carried up, again as in the nave, far beyond the level of the capitals. Carvings, more prominent than those in the nave, of heads and shoulders of all sorts and conditions of men, project from the smaller two of these three inner shafts at the points from which the mouldings of the arches spring. Some of the arch-mouldings are round in cross section ; others show a raised " keel." On the topmost point of the ground arch rests a horizontal cornice which forms the dividing line between the two main compartments of each bay. The spandrels are relieved by stone shields on which the bearings are more prominent than on those in the nave. The triforium and the clerestory form in reality one compartment owing to the continuation of the mullions of the clerestory windows to form the divisions of the triforium arcade. There, however, the similarity between the bays of the choir and the bays of the nave ends. It is the difference in details that makes the difference in effect between the elevation of the choir and that of the nave. The plinth and the bases of the piers are larger ; the capitals from which the ribs of the roof spring consist of a double row of carving—foliage above and an arcade of small cusped arches below ; the capitals of the two smaller of the three side shafts that face

inwards are placed, not at the level of the capital of the middle shaft as in the nave, but at a point several feet higher, on the same level as the capitals of the mullions of the clerestory windows; in the nave only four capitals are carved on the six mullions that form the compartments of the clerestory and the triforium, and these are at the heads of the lights, whereas in the choir each mullion has two capitals—one in the triforium and the other in the clerestory. All these, details though they are, have their combined effect. The more elaborate triforium in the choir, combined with the continuity of the line of the cornice from end to end of each group of four bays in the choir wherever there is a flat piece of wall, and the Perpendicular tracery of the windows in the choir as against the Decorated tracery in the nave, complete the effect. In the Lady chapel, too, four statues have been placed on the four central shafts, facing inwards, and between carved pedestals and canopies. Statues in these places formed part of the ornamentation of the Lady chapel, but disappeared at the Reformation, and were replaced only in the year 1903. They are, on the south side, of Henry, third Baron Percy from 1351 to 1368 (given by the Duke of Northumberland), and William of Wykeham, Canon of York from 1330 to 1368 (given by Marian Johnson in memory of her husband); and, on the north side, of John Thoresby, Archbishop of York from 1352 to 1373 (given by Sophie Thoresby), and Walter Skirlaw, Canon of York from 1370 to 1388 (given by Francis Darwin, Esq.). Each stands on an octagonal base, which rests on a Decorated bracket and contains on its inner face the shield of the person represented above, and each has a handsome octagonal and gabled canopy above. As is fitting to a great builder, Thoresby holds a model of the four eastern bays of the Minster, which he erected.

The triforium in the choir consists of three main



CHOIR, LOOKING EAST

divisions: (1) a parapet ornamented with cusped arches and minute spandrels; (2) an arcade of cusped arches, open, with a bar of stone across the middle, and with the arches ornamented with crockets and finials; (3) an arcade of five panels, solid, but each ornamented with two cusped arches and tiny spandrels.

Generally speaking, the effect of the glass in the clerestory of the choir is superior to that in the clerestory of the nave. Though three windows in the former clerestory at the east end—the easternmost on each side and the second from the east on the north side—are now filled with white glass, all the clerestory windows of the choir, sixteen in all, were glazed with coloured glass till the fire of 1829, and glass made for the spaces which it filled, and representing in the lower lights large figures which are amongst the best of their kind. The glass in the clerestory of the nave is disappointing by comparison. Much of it is earlier in date than the stonework into which it fits; a little of it is undoubtedly later; the arrangement of it in two rows of coloured panels between three rows of white glass is not very satisfactory; and to the critical eye some of it, while rare in itself, is sadly out of place. This is another drawback to the effect of the nave arcade which is not present in the choir.

The bays of the choir, then, are more nobly conceived than those of the nave. There are, however, certain differences between the eastern (the earlier) four and the western (the later) four. As is pointed out elsewhere,¹ the former are level with the inner face of the wall, and have the ledge and the passage behind them, while the latter are level with the outer face of the wall, and have the ledge and the passage in front of them. Further, the small compartments of the tracery of the western windows radiate with

¹ Chapter IX.

the main curves of the mullions ; in the case of the eastern windows they are straight, following rigidly the Perpendicular style. The lights of the western aisle windows, too, are broader than those of the eastern windows. There are differences, too, in the carvings of the capitals in the eastern and the western columns.

These capitals are worthy of a more than cursory glance. While most of the carvings are of leaf forms, and are stiff and conventional compared with those in the nave, others are of various human and animal forms. These are found on the four piers in the the western portion of the north aisle of the choir. In the volume of plates which forms so valuable a part of Browne's "History of York Minster," there are four¹ which give detailed illustrations of these sculptures, which include two dragons (one winged), a man forcing open the jaws of a lion, a monkey torturing a pig, a man with an evil face, a mermaid holding a fish and a mirror, a lion *passant guardant*, a man with open mouth who holds a club, a man holding a spear in a round fort attacked by two animals, various human forms, a mitred archbishop wearing an alb and preaching, a man looking out of the window of a circular domed tower, a boy being chastised for stealing grapes, a fox preaching from a pulpit to an ecclesiastic, a man holding a swan by the leg, and a king crowned and armed. Most of these sculptures are surrounded by leaves and fruit of the vine and the oak.

These curious carvings are sufficiently uncommon to invite speculation as to their meaning. Browne interpreted them as allegorical representations of events connected with the execution of Archbishop Scrope and the political circumstances of the time. All who visited Scrope's tomb by way of the north aisle of the choir would have to pass them ; and it

¹ Nos. CXLVI to CXLIX.

would be an argument in favour of his interpretation of them if this portion of the choir was being finished at the time when the events by which he explained them were taking place. But there is every reason to believe that these capitals were completed some time before Scrope's execution. Browne's interesting and ingenious explanation of them cannot be accepted without a revision of our ideas as to the date when the western choir was built.

The design of the bays of the aisle walls is attractive by reason of its simplicity. Each bay contains beneath the level of the sill of the window six flat panels, the original effect of which cannot be judged because nearly all of them are filled with memorials in many styles and of little artistic merit. At the head of each panel are two small trefoiled arches. The divisions between the panels consist of three slender shafts, the side ones having capitals and supporting the arches, and the middle ones being continued to the top of the compartments. The tracery of the aisle windows is of Early Perpendicular design, and is undistinguished. It forms thirteen compartments of varying sizes. On each side of each window are two large niches, surmounted by canopies. The pedestals remain only in the lower row of niches, and no longer contain statues, if indeed they ever had them. Each window is flanked by three shafts, which end in capitals, from which spring the mouldings of the window arches.

The vault of each aisle is of stone, like that of every other side aisle in the Minster. The disposition of the moulded ribs follows closely that of the roofs of the nave aisles. At the intersections of the ribs are bosses, which, in the eastern portions of the aisles, are variously carved with representations of leaves of the thorn, the maple, and the *Herba benedicta*, and, in the case of the larger, or key-, bosses, with such representations as a combat between two winged

dragons. The smaller bosses are from 18 to 20 inches in diameter ; the larger ones from 24 to 27 inches. Some of the key-bosses of the vault of the western portions of the aisles represent coats-of-arms. The second and third from the west in the south aisle each have for their bearing a lion rampant for either Percy, or Mowbray, or Fauconberg, according to the colouring. Those in the western portion of the north aisle are apparently plain ; but the fumes of two heating stoves below have blackened the surfaces of all except the fourth from the west, which has no bearing. All the shields in the western portions of both aisles are held by angels with extended wings.

One of the outstanding features of the eastern arm is the opening made in the vault of each aisle by carrying the vault of the middle bay to the level of the central ceiling. The plan of the clerestory roof is therefore transeptal, while that of the pavement below is oblong. Both inside and outside, the effect produced by this device is magnificent. The reason for it is most probably that it was impossible to make real eastern transepts because of the position of the Zouche chapel on the south. The interior of each of these clerestory transepts is lighted by three windows—a long “ wall ” of glass, and two others looking east and west respectively. These side windows are of the same design as the clerestory windows in the eastern arm ; in fact, the east and west bays of each transept are merely continuations of the bays of the eastern arm. The building of these transepts resulted in the construction of a gallery on each side over the middle arch of the arcade to carry the triforium passage ; and each gallery is of the same design as the lowest stage of the triforium, which it continues. By the side of the two large windows in the transepts are five pedestals and canopies for statues. For half their height these two windows have an extra framework of mullions and transoms

about a foot in front of the surface of the glass. The Five Sisters window has a similar extra framework for its whole height ; and the extra framework in front of the east window carries a gallery at a level of about 10 feet from the tops of the lights.

The ceiling of the choir—of wood, like that of the nave—is more elaborate in design. The nave ceiling is held in position by only one rib that runs from east to west ; in addition, that of the choir has four other rows of sectional ribs that run in the same general direction. There are between two and three hundred bosses in the choir at the intersections of the ribs—very many more than there are in the nave. They are not, however, so interesting ; and, perhaps for this reason, Browne did not reproduce more than a few drawings of them. Halfpenny's "Gothic Ornaments," published in 1795, thirty-four years before the fire of 1829, gives several representations. These show the chief sculptures to have been, in addition to leaf forms, a Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist pointing to a lamb, a mitred archbishop, a crowned abbess, and several heads which cannot be identified. Since the fire the sculptures of the bosses are mainly of leaf forms, and no reproductions of the former sculptures can be identified.

Looking eastwards, the visitor to York Minster cannot but be disappointed that in recent times part of the east window has been hidden from view by the reredos. At Winchester the high altar and the reredos dominate the eastward view ; and the windows above them are not foreshortened by them. There is, it is true, more beyond, but it cannot be seen. At Gloucester the great east window at once attracts the eye, and all of it is visible from the choir. At York the reredos, designed by the restorer of the south transept half a century ago, as a triptych in which the events and the emblems of the Passion are represented, blocks from view part of what the

builders intended to be the effective reredos. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the high altar stood one bay west of its present position. Behind it was a chamber which contained the shrine of St. William and which was used as a vestry. Above this was a gallery for the musicians at High Mass. But the chamber and the gallery were not so high that they spoiled the view of the east window. When they were removed and the high altar was placed against the screen, a magnificent eastward view, which can still be seen in old prints, was displayed. The original stone and glass screen behind the high altar, of which the present one is a copy, though not an exact copy, hid some of the window, but revealed its lower part, and therefore its true size and proportions. A smaller screen was impracticable because of the drop of several feet to the floor of the Lady chapel. The mistake of erecting a high reredos is one that in the face of conservative opinion is not easily rectified. The glory of the east end of York Minster is, and always has been, the east window. The presumption of a later generation in attempting to focus attention on an indifferent reredos cannot be too strongly condemned. It may be possible for a still later generation to remove this eyesore, and to furnish the place of the high altar as it deserves to be furnished.

The stone and glass screen behind the high altar is divided from north to south into nine compartments, each of them a three-light window but with the lower portion filled with stone instead of glass. Halfpenny's engraving of the choir shows the screen to have been either filled with glass or open for the whole of its length, and to have been less elaborate in general design, but to have had two horizontal divisions as at present. The stone panels below are surmounted by long pointed gables, the finials of which pierce a double row of horizontal

moulding ornamented with the trefoil. The three-light windows above have Perpendicular tracery above the middle lights and Decorated tracery above the side lights. In the spandrels are quatrefoils and other carved forms, the quatrefoils containing blank shields. Slender stone buttresses between the windows support the weight of the screen and its glass, and are divided horizontally into three compartments and surmounted by pinnacles. The parapet above the screen is designed alternately in taller divisions each ornamented with three panels and smaller ones containing blank shields. The whole screen stands on a broad moulded base; and the design of the western face is reproduced on the eastern face.

The east wall can be examined best from the Lady chapel. The importance of the window in its design is borne witness to by the fact that hardly anybody notices anything on the wall except the window. At the west end the window ought to dominate the situation; but, owing to the door below and a bewildering succession of niches, canopied and pedestalled, the eye is constantly being drawn from glass to stone. As in so many other ways, here the builders of the east end profited by the mistakes of their predecessors. At least here the window is insistent, to the exclusion of all else. And if this is the case now it was far more so when the east end was finished. For the large altar and the coloured reredos below, with the memorials to Archbishops Frewen¹ and Sharp,² had no place in the original scheme of things. Instead, three altars occupied the space—the altar of the Holy Name on the north, that of our Lady in the middle, and that of St. John the Evangelist on the south—and doubtless each chapel was enclosed by means of oak screens. The tomb of Archbishop Rotherham stood between the first two chapels.

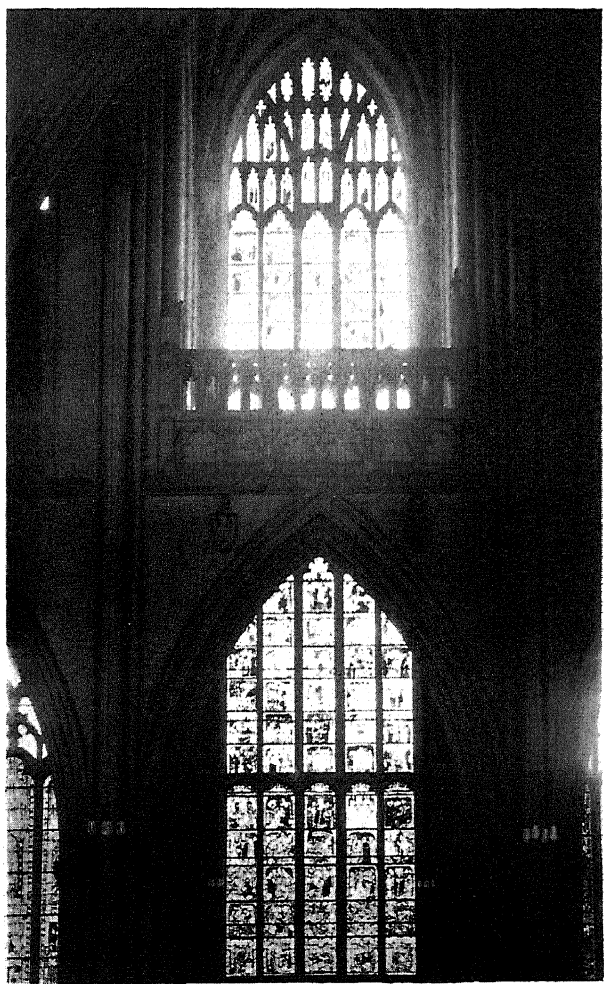
¹ On the north side.

² On the south side.

The reredos was inserted in the year 1897, as a memorial of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria ; it is of stone, and it was coloured as part of the scheme which resulted (1923) in the removal of Rotherham's monument, the laying down of the broad pavement for the large altar, the colouring of the stone reredos, and the entire refurnishing of the chapel. Only to the imaginative person, therefore, can the east end make its original appeal. The addition of two other chapels, that of St. Stephen at the east end of the north aisle and that of All Saints, restored in 1923, at the east end of the south aisle, completed the arrangement of the east end.

The east window is flanked by three pairs of long niches and two panels on each side. These seem to be unnecessary. A blank wall-space would have been better. They are not, however, anything more than unimportant and hardly noticeable additions to a design that needs no additions to make it perfect. Above the arcade and beneath the sill of the east window is a long horizontal panel of quatrefoil design.

The east window itself, with its double tracery, its transom, its gallery, its perpendicular lines, and its entirely satisfactory tracery, would be remarkable even if it were filled with indifferent glass. With its original early-fifteenth-century glass it is amongst the wonders of the world. What the subject-matter of the window is we do not at first care. It happens that half of the window is the finest and the most complete representation in glass of the Apocalypse in the world. It happens that the twenty-seven panels that fill the top three rows of the lights deal in a very literal fashion with scenes in Old Testament history from the creation of the world to the death of Absalom. It happened that the artist changed his mind and his plan then, and decided to devote nearly all the remainder of the space in the



NORTH TRANSEPT OF CHOIR

lights to the Apocalypse. It happened that he was paid 6s. 8d. a week on the average during the three years that the insertion of the window occupied. These and many other interesting facts make the full story of the east window a remarkable one. But at first we care for none of these things, for we are consumed with wonder at the stupendous work involved in the window, which, though as large as a tennis court, contains no piece of glass much larger than the palm of one's hand, and at the combined beauties of art and nature if we are so fortunate as to see it with the morning sun shining through and converting it into a magnificent jewel. John Thornton, of Coventry, will live for ever amongst the masters of the craft that he practised. If the east window at York is a fair sample of his work, his window in his native town, the north window in St. Mary's Hall, restored as it was in 1797 and 1895, must have lost inconceivably in these restorations. The east window of York remains at once John Thornton's masterpiece and one of the most beautiful creations in the world.

We turn to the interior of the choir with a feeling of expectancy. Has York anything in wood to rival this gorgeous array of colour in glass? The choir stalls are disappointing because they are not the originals, but inexact copies made after the fire of 1829, when the originals were burnt to ashes, only the seats and the arms of two, which are preserved in the treasury, having survived. Each of the old stalls had a miserere seat, which has not been reproduced. The back panel of each stall is plain except for an imposed piece of delicate carving in the shape of an ornamental arch and arcades of smaller cusped arches surmounting it. In the old stalls this arcade was pierced. Those stalls that are appropriated to the members of the chapter and to others, such as the archdeacons, who are not necessarily members of the chapter, are marked

either with the titles of the dignitaries or with the names of the prebends. The canopies above the stalls are of very good workmanship; and the pinnacles which surmount them match the slender pinnacles in some of the aisle windows behind them. Immediately above the canopies are tabernacles of delicate design, each of which contains a pedestal for three statues. Needless to say, the niches are all empty. Above all is a gable which ends in an unusually long crocketed pinnacle.

Below the stalls are two rows of enclosed pews, the upper row being divided into sub-stalls. The pulpit at the western end of the stalls on the north side, and the archbishop's throne opposite to it, are not worthy of their place; they are of new design, and are less satisfactory than the stalls. Those who are constantly in and out of the Minster long for the original carving, and envy Durham, Hexham, Winchester, Ripon, Beverley, Southwell, and other places which still possess theirs.

The shields in the spandrels above the ground arches of the eastern arm are now plain, and not coloured. On each side there are two in each bay and six in each transept, a total of forty-eight in all. As they are not coloured, the complete heraldic description is not given:

- (1) NORTH SIDE (beginning at the lantern tower)
1st bay.—A fesse dancettée for Vavasour; and a saltire for Neville.
2nd bay.—On a saltire a crescent for Neville; and a chief three chevrons interlaced in base for Fitz-Hugh.
3rd bay.—On a bend a lion rampant for Scrope; and seven mascles, three, three, and one, for St. William.
4th bay.—Two swords in saltire for St. Paul; and two keys in saltire for St. Peter.

5th (middle) bay.—Three estoiles of six points for St. Wilfrid ; and the instruments of the Passion.

Transept :

South bay.—Checky a fesse for Clifford ; and a cross floré for Latimer.

West bay.—A saltire for Neville ; and a bend for Scrope.

East bay.—A chief three chevrons interlaced for Fitz-Hugh ; and a bend and a label of three points for Scrope of Masham.

6th bay.—Barry of ten three chaplets for Greystock ; and a cross floré for Latimer.

7th bay.—Checky a fesse for Clifford ; and a bend cottised between six lions rampant for Bohun.

8th bay.—Three lions passant guardant within a bordure for Woodstock or Holland ; and three lions passant guardant over all a label of three points each charged with three fleur-de-lis for Lancaster.

9th bay.—Six lions rampant for Savage or Leybourne ; and two keys in saltire for St. Peter.

(2) SOUTH SIDE (beginning at the west end)

1st bay.—A cross for St. George ; and a cross floré between five martlets for King Edward the Confessor.

2nd bay.—Three crowns two and one for St. Edmund or Ely ; and barry of six on a chief three pallets between two gyronnies over all an inescutcheon for Mortimer.

3rd bay.—Six lions rampant, with a horn west of the shield, for Savage or Leybourne ; and a lion rampant for Percy or Mowbray.

4th bay.—Quarterly 1st and 4th a lion rampant for Percy or Mowbray, 2nd and 3rd three lucies hauriant for Lucy ; and a bend over all a label of three points for Scrope of Masham.

5th bay.—Six osier twigs intertwined for Skirlaw ; and a bend over all a label of three points the

whole within a bordure of mitres for Archbishop Scrope.

Transept :

North bay.—Three escallops for Dacres ; and a fesse between six crosses for Beauchamp.

West bay.—A blank shield ; and a fesse dancetteé for Vavasour.

East bay.—Mowbray and Percy (each a lion rampant).

6th bay.—Three water-bougets for Roos ; and a saltire for Neville.

7th bay.—On a cross five lions passant guardant for the City of York ; and three lozenges conjoined in fesse for Montagu.

8th bay.—A fesse between six crosses crosslet for Beauchamp ; and a lion rampant for Percy or Mowbray.

9th bay.—Semée de lis for France (ancient) and England quarterly, with a label of three points, for Edward the Black Prince ; and the same without a label for Edward III.

All these shields, with the exception of those attributed by long custom to saints and of the one which represents the instruments of the Passion, have been connected with definite individuals who were alive when the choir was being built. These conclusions and the reasons for arriving at them cannot be given here.

Few mediaeval tombs and only one pre-Reformation brass survive at York Minster. Torre gives drawings of ten tombstones that were in existence before the Lady chapel altar in his time. Six of the tombs he inferred to be those of the six archbishops whose bodies Thoresby caused to be removed from Roger's choir. Leland, a century and a half before, had noted the inscriptions on some of these tombs, which show that Archbishops Gerard (*d.* 1109),

Thomas II (*d.* 1113), Murdac (*d.* 1153), Giffard (*d.* 1277), Romanus (*d.* 1295), and Thoresby (*d.* 1373) were buried there. Leland also includes the names of Archbishops Neville¹ (*d.* 1476) and Rotherham (*d.* 1500), and of Thomas, Lord Scrope of Masham. It is a great loss that there is no trace now of these tombs or of the effigies or brasses on them, of which Torre gives rough sketches. Since the removal of Rotherham's monument the Lady chapel contains the tombs only of Scrope and Bowet amongst mediaeval archbishops.

Thomas Scott (or Rotherham, as he is usually called) was buried north of the Lady chapel altar, between the Lady chapel and the chapel of the Holy Name of Jesus, the altar of which was on the spot now occupied by the monument of Accepted Frewen (archbishop from 1660 to 1664). Of the archbishops who occupied the see from 1373 (the death of Thoresby) to 1519 (the accession of Wolsey), Alexander Neville (1374 to 1386) was deposed and died at Louvain, Thomas Arundel (1388 to 1396) and John Kempe (1426 to 1452) were translated to Canterbury, Robert Waldby (1397 to 1398) was buried at Westminster, William Bothe (1452 to 1464) and Laurence Bothe (1476 to 1480) were buried at Southwell, and Christopher Baynbridge (1508 to 1514) died at Rome.

George Neville (1464 to 1476) is said to have been buried in the recess in the north wall of the vestry now known as the treasury. Drake tells of the opening of a grave there which contained the remains of an archbishop, and surmised that they were those of George Neville.

The reputed tomb of Richard Scrope is in the easternmost bay on the north side of the Lady chapel. The effigy, if ever there was one, has disappeared. On March 28, 1844, this tomb was

¹ Often said to have been buried in the treasury. See below, and Appendix III.

opened, and a coffin was found at a depth of just over three feet. Human remains were found in it, but no episcopal ring, and no chalice or paten. It is probable Scrope's tomb was near this spot, for from the time just after his death the chapel at the east end of the north aisle, of which the piscina remains, was chosen by various members of the Scrope family as their place of burial, and their chantries were founded at the St. Stephen's altar there. The foundation of a chapel of St. Stephen in York Minster was, however, much older than the connexion of the Scrope family with that chapel: for in 1273 William Langton, Dean of York, founded at the altar of St. Stephen a chantry for his own soul and the soul of Archbishop Walter de Gray, and appointed Robert de Fenton, a vicar-choral, to be the first chaplain.¹ This chapel would be transferred, on the completion of the eastern bays of the present cathedral, to its corresponding position in the new cathedral, namely, at the east end of the north aisle of the choir. The insertion of six (now only four) panels in the window above, which illustrate scenes from the life of St. Stephen, and of a figure of the saint in the glass of the tracery, reminds the present generation of the connexion of this spot with the first Christian martyr.

At the east end of the south aisle is the restored chapel of All Saints, a memorial to those members of the 13th Battalion Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment who fell in the war of 1914 to 1918. In the bay to the north of the chapel is the tomb of Henry Bowet, archbishop from 1408 to 1423. The late Mr. A. Clutton-Brock calls it "one of the finest Perpendicular monuments in the country, and by far the finest in the Minster." Nobody will feel disposed to quarrel with this judgment. In spite of the ravages of the fire of 1829, which almost destroyed

¹ Deed in possession of the sub-chanter and vicars-choral of York.

Archbishop Sharp's monument near it, the beauty of the tomb still remains in the traceried roof, the three pinnacled tabernacles above which contained three episcopal figures, the panelled sides with niches and canopies, and the base ornamented with miniature buttresses and quatrefoils. The restoration of the tomb to its original complete condition is much to be desired. In May, 1413, Bowet founded at the altar of All Saints a chantry for himself, for Henry IV, for Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and for Richard Pittes, Archdeacon of Cleveland. The last-named, in his will made on July 24 of the year 1415, expressed the desire to be buried near the spot which Bowet had chosen for his tomb. All trace of this tomb has disappeared.

The framed colour in the All Saints chapel was presented by the East India Company to the 76th Regiment, from which the Duke of Wellington's (West Riding) Regiment is descended, and contains the names of the Peninsula and of various battles in India in which the regiment took part in the year 1803.

Thomas Savage's tomb is in the north aisle of the choir west of the entrance to the crypt. It is a good example of Perpendicular work, and is nearly, but not quite, perfect. The cornice above it is in a double row, and supports figures of five angels. In the spandrels of the arch are angels with censers and two shields with supporters. Below, in quatrefoils, are four coats-of-arms which are badly in need of restoration. Panels at the ends of the tomb complete the design. The effigy of the archbishop in full vestments has the appearance of being later in date than the tomb; it rests under a panelled archway. There is no record of a Savage chantry in the Minster. The parish church of Macclesfield, in Cheshire, contains on the south side of the church a magnificent chapel founded by the Savage family.

The only other monument of an ecclesiastic in the eastern arm of any antiquity is one in the second bay from the east on the south side of the Lady chapel. The monument itself is new (1844, an erection after the fire), but the effigy, which contains remains of its former colouring, is the original one. It is the memorial of Tobias Matthew, archbishop of York from 1606 to 1628.

A few yards from Matthew's monument, on the south wall of the choir, under the third window from the east, is a delightful small brass, which has survived in perfect condition, in memory of Elizabeth Eymes, one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlewomen, who died in 1585. The likeness, the shields, and the inscriptions, are complete. The figure holds an open book, and the following texts are inscribed underneath: (1) "I have chosen ye way of truth, and Thy judgments have I laide before me"; and (2) "Thy statutes have bene my songes in the house of my pilgrimage."

No account can be given here of the large number of monuments, of all dates from Elizabethan times, which disfigure the walls of the aisles of the eastern arm. They prevent the observer from judging the effect of the arcade. The comparative poverty in mediaeval monuments and the plethora of those of later times seriously detracts from the appearance of the eastern arm.

This account of the choir may close with a reference to a remarkably beautiful fragment of a mural sculpture which is in a recess in the east wall north of the Lady chapel altar. Its inscription, "SCA MARIA," proclaims it to have been a representation of the Virgin and Child. The sculpture has been mutilated so that the whole of the figure of the Child with the exception of the right hand, the legs, and the feet, and all the figure of the Virgin from the neck to a point below the left knee, have disappeared.

The Virgin sits on a cushion, and her feet rest on another cushion. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the date to which the carving may be ascribed. Three different authorities place it at dates as far apart as the ninth and twelfth centuries. The perfect carving of the folds of the garments suggest a date about the middle of the twelfth century. If this surmise is correct, the sculpture probably belonged originally to Roger's choir. It ought to be moved to a position in which it can be more easily seen and studied.

In the western portion of the north aisle the following colours are hung between the windows: (1) to the right of the first window from the gates, the 65th Foot; (2) on each side of the second window, the 84th Foot; (3) to the left of the third window, the 65th Foot. All the old colours now hung here and in the transepts, in addition to two colours of the 2nd West Riding Militia Regiment, which are in the Zouche chapel, were up to four or five years ago hung in the nave.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LANTERN TOWER AND THE SCREEN

THE crossing, the key to the width of the middle portions of the building, belongs to none of those portions, as it is neither transepts, nor nave, nor choir.

As has been stated, the lantern tower is the third on the site. A new tower was built each time a complete arm of the Minster was finished. One crowned Thomas's transepts, another the Early English transepts of Walter de Gray and John Romanus the Elder, and another the present nave and the eastern arm. This central tower is the largest of its kind in England. The square¹ from core to core of the piers has a side between 52 and 53 feet long, and the internal height of the lantern is 180 feet. The capitals of the arches are 62 feet from the pavement, and the apex of each arch about 92 feet. The wall arcade above the arches is 20 feet high, and each of the eight windows is 47 feet high by 12 feet wide. These figures give an idea of the enormous size of the lantern, which, even in its unfinished state, is the crown of the whole building.

The arches, which were built at different times as the nave and the choir were being erected, are not circular in cross-section, but, roughly, diamond-shaped. The clustered shafts which form them were grouped round the piers which supported Thomas's central tower, and they match the designs of those of the large arcades of the nave and the

¹ It is not an exact square.

choir. The capitals are of leaf shapes. The outside moulding of the north and south arches forms an ogee at its summit. In the spandrels above the arches are large stone shields, each held by an angel, as follows: north (reading from left to right), St. Edmund (or Ely) and King Oswald; east, the counter-seal of the See of York¹ and St. Wilfrid; south, the See of York and Walter Skirlaw; west, England after 1410 and King Edward the Confessor. All these shields, except that of King Oswald, are found in the spandrels of the eastern arm. That of England shows that the tower cannot have been finished before the time (about 1410) when the number of fleurs-de-lis on the royal shield was reduced to three.

Halfpenny gives (Plates 12 and 30) two drawings of sculptures which may still be seen on the north-east and south-east angles of the tower, adjoining the capitals in those corners. On the north-east the sculpture consists of three figures—a bearded man with the hairy coat of a beast, who holds the hoof of a grotesque animal in human shape with large ears, horns and claws, and with the jaws and lolling tongue of a beast, and a third, also with very large ears, but with a human face, who has in his mouth a long tail, presumably his own. There are two figures in the corresponding position in the south-east corner—a bearded man who holds a sword and wears a head-dress like a tiara, and a gentle-looking old man who leans towards him. These two etchings also reveal the presence of small human figures in the capitals just beneath the larger corner figures.

From a string course above the arches eighteen sculptures of heads and shoulders project, two on each side of each arch, and one each from the north-east and south-east corners. Above is the tall arcade, which consists of ten compartments on each face. Each compartment has two panels surmounted

¹ As used by certain archbishops, including Waldby.

by cusped arches and Early Perpendicular tracery. Crocketed gables crowned with finials, and longer finials at the tops of the divisions between the compartments, complete the design of the arcade.

Below the windows there is a passage, which pierces the broad divisions between the windows, and which has on its inner face a parapet pierced with squares which contain ornamented quatrefoils. The windows are of three lights, each divided into two compartments horizontally, and they are recessed. Except for coloured borders, and for a double row of cross-keys, some pairs silver and some gold, against red, blue, and yellow backgrounds, the glass of these windows is of plain quarries. The coloured glass was inserted by Matthew Petty about the year 1470. Each window has tracery of Perpendicular design in twelve compartments.

The ceiling of the tower is of wood, and at the junction of the many ribs are between seventy and eighty bosses. The key-boss is carved with a representation of St. Peter, who holds the keys and a church, and of St. Paul, who holds a sword. The carvings on the four next largest bosses are of a winged ox (the emblem of St. Luke) on the north-west, an eagle (the emblem of St. John the Evangelist) on the north-east, a man on the south-east, and an angel (the emblem of St. Matthew) on the south-west. All hold plain scrolls. It would appear that the third boss ought to be of a winged lion (the emblem of St. Mark), to complete the set of emblems of the four evangelists. The remainder of the bosses are carved with leaves and grotesque heads.

The massive stone screen has by some been considered to be too heavy, and not sufficiently relieved by its wealth of ornament. The work that it does in strengthening the two eastern piers of the lantern tower for their heavy burden must not, however, be forgotten. Added to this is the modern duty of

supporting much of the organ. After the fire of 1829 a proposal was made that the screen should be either removed altogether or placed one bay eastward. The grounds for the proposal were that it harmonized ill with the piers to which it was attached and that it had been "foisted in between two of the finest pillars in the world, built in the best age of Gothic architecture," and had "buried their base and one-third of their height in a mass of shapeless masonry, faced with enrichments, elegant indeed, but very far from partaking of the same characters of grand and noble simplicity."¹ The controversy elicited many opinions on the merits of the screen, and many interesting facts about it. The proposal was defeated, and has never since been revived.

The screen is over 15 feet high. It is divided by slender tapering double buttresses into fifteen complete compartments, seven on the north and eight on the south, of the broad opening. In these compartments, standing on long and slender panelled pedestals which are carved with leaf forms, are figures of the kings of England from William I to Henry VI. In a few of the leaf carvings are examples of the device of the builder of the screen, William Hindley, namely, a "hind ly"-ing down. The names of the kings are painted underneath the statues. The statue of Henry VI is a modern one. The original was replaced by one of James I, which in its turn was succeeded by the present one of Henry VI, made in 1810. The canopies above the heads of the kings have ornamented ceilings, the ribs meeting in small bosses in the centre. Each canopy has in front two pendants, on the under side of each of which is carved a head. The canopies are richly carved, and above each is a tabernacle of five compartments, with the figure of an angel in each. The pinnacles of these

¹ Quoted from a letter of the Rev. Canon Vernon to Viscount Milton, 1830

and of the buttresses extend to the cornice, and produce a rich effect. Immediately under the cornice is a row of plaster angels, one between each pair of pinnacles, which were added at the end of the eighteenth century. Two larger figures of angels project horizontally from the ends of the cornice.

The cornice is divided into two portions horizontally by a plain straight moulding. Below and above this are rows of ornamentation, the upper row, consisting of cusped arches crowned by foliage, being the deeper of the two.

The broad, dignified opening that leads to the arch underneath the screen is of four orders of moulding, and is remarkable for its carved capitals and mouldings. The outer moulding rises to an ogee pediment, the finial of which cuts into the cornice with good effect. In the ogee are two angels adoring a (restored) figure, in a niche, of our Lord, Who holds the orb and the cross, and blesses His people.

The sides of the archway are panelled, and the ceiling is traceried. At each side are two compartments divided by slender shafts, which, like all the shafts on the screen, stand on tall octagonal bases. Each shaft has a carved capital. Each compartment is under a lancet arch, the upper portion of which is divided into simple tracery. The ceiling has a central rib which contains three bosses, from which radiate seven ribs on each side to the shafts of the arcade below. There are, in addition, three bosses on each side of the central rib. The largest boss, like all the other bosses, is of stone, and represents the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Virgin has her arms crossed on her breast, and is supported by two angels at each side. The other bosses are of natural forms.

The gates at the entrance to the choir replaced wooden doors at the end of the seventeenth century. A little later the wooden doors leading to the aisles of the choir were removed, and the present iron gates erected.

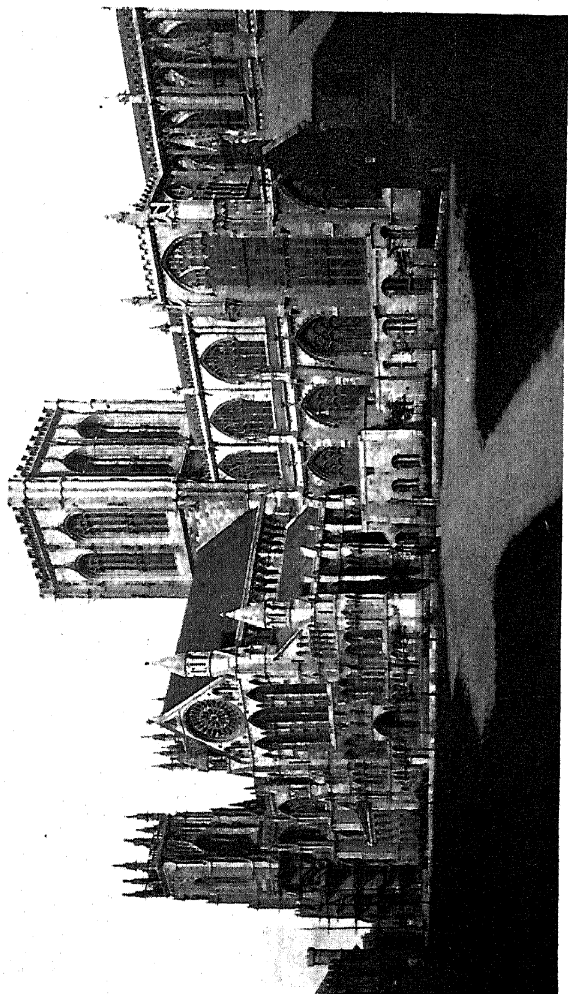
CHAPTER IX

THE EXTERIOR

THE exteriors of cathedrals and other churches, large and small, though they are often enough described, do not receive their due share of attention from visitors. This is doubtless due to the unsuitability of our climate to outdoor study and to the natural disinclination of the average English person to do much out of doors except play or watch games. In consequence all except the general exterior effect of the most beautiful examples of architecture in this country is lost on most people. This is a great loss to them; for whereas the disposition of the interior of a large church is, or ought to be, subordinated to, and dominated by, the general requirements of worship, the exterior is arranged to produce an effect on the outside world. That effect is not one of display only, for display alone would carry its own condemnation. It includes also economy of means for structural purposes, a revelation from the exterior of the main lines of the interior, and some symbolic representation of the faith which was the motive of the builders. When one is inside a building it matters little, for example, how the walls and the roof are supported; the problem set by the exterior, however, is so to arrange the combination of window-space, wall, wall buttress, and flying buttress that a unity and a beauty of general effect is attained. Again, magnificent as are the west fronts of Lincoln, Peterborough, and Wells, they give a false idea of the structure of the naves of those cathedrals. Again, who ever heard of four large towers? The correct number is either one, be it spire or tower, that

symbolizes either the soaring aspirations of the Christian life or the solidity of the Christian faith in the face of attacks from without, or three, the eternal symbol of the Three in One. Those who have not up to now taken much notice of the exteriors of the churches the interiors of which they probably know very well are urged to seize all opportunities of studying these exteriors afresh ; for interior and exterior combine to express the whole of the ideals of those who planned and built, not because they were paid for planning and building, but because they must plan and build.

The west fronts of cathedrals and other large churches are extraordinarily different from each other. Nobody who knows them could possibly mistake one for another. A few, such as Winchester, Gloucester, and Norwich, have west fronts that are quite undistinguished. Others are marked by some feature that makes them almost unique—Wells by its breadth and solidity, its flat towers, and its niches filled with statues ; Lichfield by its graceful towers and by its statues and niches, which relieve what would otherwise have been a monotonously flat wall with small openings for doors and windows ; Peterborough by its three bold Early English openings and the skilful arrangement of its pinnacles and its gables ; Lincoln by the majesty of a broad façade, pierced by an enormous doorway, and by its two tall towers with the delightful gable over the doorway and between them ; Exeter, again, by niches and statues and by a design above the parapet of the lower portion in which artistic window-tracery plays the most prominent part. The list might be prolonged. The builders of most of the English cathedrals intended that the normal way for the public into the buildings should be by the great west door—a magnificent façade being intended as a preparation for a magnificent avenue of stone.



YORK MINSTER—SOUTH SIDE

What distinguishes the west front of York Minster is not so much the possession of any one feature as the fact that, without being in reality anything but a flat wall relieved by buttresses and a wealth of ornament, it produces the effect of massiveness, breadth, dignity, and repose. The façade is, in fact, nothing more than the termination of the nave. There is no projecting porch, and the whole front, to the top of the towers, is in the same vertical plane. In the decoration of it, the architect, having limited himself by deciding that the façade should be a wall and nothing but a wall—for there is no inner porch; the doors open right into the nave—had to provide for three doors and five windows below the level of the parapet. Commencing with the central portion of the wall, he had to pierce this for a door below and a window above. Had he made the doorway larger he would have had to make the window smaller, and to reckon with the stained-glass artist in this. Viewed from the interior, the west window is the chief feature of the west wall, and its flamboyant tracery is one of the most beautiful things of its kind in the country. The size of the window therefore, the dominating feature of the interior at the west end, seriously limited the possibilities of the exterior. It is so large that everything else has had to give place to it. These two things—the conception of the west wall as the abrupt end of the nave, and the desire to display a large quantity of glass—not only are the dominant features of the west end, but also set the limits for its design.

The general features of the walls at the end of the aisles also similarly limited the architect. The tops of the aisle windows were fixed; so were their widths. They were shortened in length compared to the aisle windows on the north and south walls, but only enough to allow of the cutting of doorways under them. The position of the windows above

them was fixed by the position of the clerestory windows. These two windows could not be made to light the church because they were doubtless always intended to be the windows of the ringing-chamber when the towers could be added.

It is difficult to see, therefore, both in the middle portion of the west wall and in the side portions, how the general lines of the design could have been different from what they are.

The massive buttresses complete the design of the wall. These again are natural consequences of the internal arrangements. Of the four that project westwards, the outer two merely continue and support the north and south aisle walls; the inner two, the clerestory walls and the arcade below. The side two perform the same function for the west wall. All six help to support also the west towers. The first four courses were built with the west wall, and are Decorated in style. When the towers were built, the next three courses, which are Perpendicular, were added. But in spite of these additions it was not necessary to strengthen the original buttresses. Nor have they been added to since. It is therefore certain that two western towers were contemplated, even though they were not built until over a century later.

The central portion of the west wall is in two divisions—the doorway and the window, with their surroundings. As inside, so outside, the west window is a little unfortunate in its setting. Its tracery would be, deservedly, a more prominent feature of the design if the wall surrounding it on each side were flat. The east window and the windows on the north and south sides of both nave and choir have the advantage of a much flatter frame, and they are therefore much more prominent. The two windows, also, above the aisle doors on the west front are not overshadowed by their surroundings; the result

is that they stand out boldly in the design of the bay.

The doorway below the west window is deeply recessed by means of four orders of moulding, on one of which are representations from scenes in the lives of Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel. The doorway is divided into two moulded and cusped arches by a clustered pier, and above the arches are three compartments containing Decorated glass—a “wheel” containing trefoils, and two spandrels. In the gable above the outer arch of the porch, which is decorated with crockets and surmounted with a finial and breaks through the sill of the window above—a species of design which occurs everywhere in the nave, both inside and outside—are five niches, in the middle one of which is the enthroned figure of a mitred archbishop who holds a model of a church and has his right hand raised in blessing. The other niches are empty. Two kneeling figures flank the niches. In the pediment on each side of the gable are a small sitting figure, a shield, and a canopied niche containing a statue. The shields (from north to south) are of Vavasour (a fesse dancettée) and Percy (a lion rampant); they are not coloured. The figures, therefore, which hold blocks of wood or stone, probably represent members of those families, and typify their generosity to the fabric.

As a glance at the window-tracery of the façade shows, there are three styles of architecture in it—Geometrical Decorated, Later Decorated, and Perpendicular. As has been noticed in the account of the interior of the nave, the two windows immediately above the aisle doors are identical in design with, but shorter than, the aisle windows on the north and south walls. The upper windows show tracery of the same period as, but different in design from, the flamboyant tracery of the west window and the more elaborate “wheel” tracery of the clerestory

windows. The parapet above these two windows and the west window, broken by the point of the gable above the west window, is a continuation of the parapet above the clerestory windows; it was completed by a parapet above the gable which marks the line of the leads of the nave; and here the west front stopped short, minus its towers, from the completion of the nave about 1350 till well on into the fifteenth century, when the west towers were added. The southern tower was the first to be erected—between 1432 and 1446. Below the window-sill is the inscription: "Bermingham," for John de Bermingham, treasurer from 1432 to 1457. It was in this tower that the fire of 1841 originated, and that the peal of twelve bells, the gift of Dr. Beckwith, whose memorial is in the north transept, and who restored the chapter house, were placed in 1843. These bells have recently been recast. The northern tower, which is identical in construction, was built from 1456 (?) to 1472. It is the home of the bell known as "Big Peter," which weighs nearly eleven tons. Each tower is nearly 200 feet high from the level of the pavement to the tops of the pinnacles, of which there are eight—one at each corner and one rising from the middle of each face. According to the dates of the towers, the window-tracery of the openings on all four sides of both towers is of well-developed Perpendicular design.

The Decorated portions of the buttresses—the first four stages—are ornamented with canopied niches, only the first and the third having pedestals. On the western face of the most northerly buttress there is, in the second niche from the ground, a disfigured piece of sculpture which represented the Flight into Egypt; in the corresponding position on the south, the sculpture represented originally the Entry into Jerusalem. The buttresses diminish in size to the top of the towers, and end in the corner pinnacles.

It has been deemed advisable to describe the west front in some detail because it is one of the features of the building which are most often criticized. A porch that would occupy the whole breadth of the façade from north to south would add to its dignity, elevate the doors from being mere openings in the wall, give greater prominence to the west window, and recess the whole wall. The niches on the wall round the west window might with advantage have been omitted. But it would be difficult to find a west front which reflects more sincerely the construction of the nave, and which looks from the outside and the inside what it really is—a wall with buttresses to take the thrust of the nave arcades and the towers that crown it. The whole façade, splendid views of which are presented from several points in the open space round it, gives to the building a majesty and a dignity that are part of its very being.

The seven bays of the nave are uniform with each other. Each bay is flanked on the aisle walls by plain buttresses, which are entirely unrelieved except for two cornices, and which are continued above the aisle walls by means of lofty pinnacles which contain niches and figures. The figures on the south side are of our Lord, St. William, and the four Evangelists. The niches on the north side are empty. From the pinnacles on each side spring flying buttresses of simple design. On each side these are modern—they were made in the year 1906. For a long period there were on the north side neither pinnacles nor flying buttresses; and on the south side, though the pinnacles existed, only the beginnings of flying buttresses were to be seen. Old prints show pinnacles and flying buttresses on each side. Though there is much to be said for the view that the designers began with the intention to vault the nave and then abandoned it, the late Mr. G. F. Bodley, R.A., had

no doubt that flying buttresses existed on each side from the first.

The aisle windows are set in walling that is almost without ornament. Between the base-moulding and the line of moulding below the sills of the windows the masonry is quite plain ; inside, an arcade occupies this space. The only setting of the aisle windows is a large gable which is crocketed and finialed, and which, like the gable over the west window, breaks through the parapet above. Between the gable and the summit of the window is a trefoil. The parapet contains quatrefoil openings, and has representations of human heads looking over it. Below it runs a cornice decorated with conventional leaf forms.

Like the aisle windows, the clerestory windows are set in plain stonework relieved by slight buttresses and small pinnacles. A narrow moulding which ends in small sculptured heads as the sides of the windows straighten themselves out follows the course of those windows from the top. The parapet above the windows is deeper than the one below, and the openings below are alternately cusped arches and quatrefoils. Below it runs a cornice similar to the lower cornice ; and, peeping over it, are four heads in each bay.

The north side of the nave can be viewed from many points in Dean's Park. Photographs show that without the flying buttresses the north side was incomplete and bare ; but the additions only lead the visitor to be disappointed when he hears that the ceiling is, and always has been, of wood. Further, the exterior walls of the choir, although they have pinnacles, have no flying buttresses ; so that it was not unquestioned wisdom that led to the construction of the additions on both sides of the nave. If, however, at some future time a stone vault can be added, the reproach of the Middle Ages can be wiped out, and the policy of the early twentieth century

will prove to have been a taking of time by the forelock.

There can be no doubt as to the magnificent effect produced by the view of the whole of the north side of the Minster from Dean's Park. It forms a most stately pile; and perhaps nowhere else in England can such majesty, dignity, and repose be found expressed in stone.

Of the transepts, the south transept is the more ornate. As on the west front, the lines of arcade on the south wall are continuous, and are not interrupted by the buttresses. Again as on the west front, the design of the exterior was subordinated to that of the interior, and had to include a door in the middle of the wall. Few will quarrel with the position of the door even if the doorway seems to be somewhat insignificant in size, and only a hole cut into the wall; for at once on entering the visitor gets a symmetrical view of the transept and a full view of the Five Sisters window. As with the west front, the key to the design of this wall consists of the middle window-space. The three lancet lights, the middle one wider than the other two, could not have been made longer. Together with the small blind arches—one on each side—that flank them, they comprise the design of the middle portion of the wall. Below them is the doorway, the orders of moulding of which continue above the capitals the lines of the clustered shafts below them. The innermost line of the inner moulding is richly carved. On each side of the doorway is a very narrow pointed arch. Above the doorway are three steep gables, containing within them and between them five cusped arches the sides of which are decorated with dog-tooth moulding. These gables and arches are apparently additions at the restoration of the transept (1871-1874), as the clock and the accompanying statues now in the north transept

stood there, though old prints show this wall decoration also.

The combined height of the doorway and the gables reaches to the sill of the lancet lights above, but there is space on each side for two arcades, one above the other—below, three compartments of the ground arcade, and, above, two lancet lights. Each of these arcades is a part of the design which ornaments all sides of the transept, and the second of which is continued on the buttresses by means of blind arches.

The design of the middle portion of the south wall is completed by the circular window in the gable, the spaces outside the circle being occupied by a trefoil above and arcades of three lancet arches at the sides, the middle lancet being higher than the other two.

The south walls of the east and west aisles of the south transept are of three divisions, the lower two of which have been mentioned—in each aisle an arcade of blind arches and a pair of lancet lights. Owing to the buildings west of the west aisle, the design of the side walls of the transept is best studied in the case of the east wall, only a small portion of which is hidden by the later buildings. It will be remembered that when the present choir was built the transepts were altered in design, but that this alteration concerned the ground arches of the third and fourth bays and the clerestory only of the fourth, which disappeared. The clerestory, therefore, of three bays was left untouched, and it consists in each bay, on the outside as on the inside, of five lancet lights, the outer two of each five being blind. The divisions between the bays are marked by means of raised ribs on the surface of the wall.

The bays of the wall of the east aisle are uniform, and they are much more simple in design than the south wall. The ground arcade of that wall is not continued farther than the commencement of the



NAVE ROOF AND WEST FACE OF LANTERN TOWER

double buttress at the south-east angle. Between the base-moulding and the plain line of moulding immediately underneath the sills of the windows, the wall and the buttresses are unadorned, as are the wall above and the smaller buttresses. The lancet lights in the middle division have been noticed in the account of the interior. The lancet ornamentation is continued at their level round the larger buttresses by means of a tall, narrow arcade. Like all the buttresses of both transepts, including the four that are surmounted by cupolas, the side buttresses of the south transept end in gables which commence at the level of the parapet. The parapets of both transepts are of unadorned stone, and are very shallow. Below both aisle and clerestory parapets is a simply ornamented cornice.

Unlike the south wall of the south transept, the north wall of the north transept is a masterpiece of simplicity. Its eastern portion was cut short by the vestibule. An arcade of blind lancet arches, the Five Sisters window, and the seven lancet lights that fill up the gable, the end two being blind—that is all. In the west aisle, the ground arcade is continued to the north-west corner, and is surmounted by two longer lancet lights, above which are three small lancet arches, each blind. The buttresses, which are octagonal in section, are relieved on each projecting face by long, gabled panels. The absence of cupolas is an advantage.

In the account of the north transept, reference has been made to the sinking of the lantern tower at its north-west corner, and the necessary rebuilding of the lower courses of a pier in the north transept. On the outside the effect of this sinking is only too apparent in the moulding underneath the parapet near the face of the tower on the west side. A fragment of the corbel-table has been torn away from the remainder, and is now over 9 inches below it.

One of the capitals of the arch below the corbel-table is the same distance below the other capital of the same arch-panel. The damage done to the stonework in the neighbourhood of these places has been repaired with Huddlestone stone.

The doorway at the junction of the north transept with the nave was reduced to half its original width by the widening of the nave.

The chapter house is built in seven uniform external compartments and one internal. The space on the outside that corresponds to the space occupied on the inside by the stalls, the seats, and the canopies, is plain between the mouldings of the base of the wall and the moulding under the sills of the windows. A line of moulding on the wall follows the curve of each window and ends at each side in a small sculptured head as the sides begin to be straight. Between the projecting parapet and the windows the wall is quite plain except for two rectangular openings on each surface which ventilate the vaulting chamber over the ceiling and underneath the roof. The parapet is a very deep one, quite plain except for sculptures of small heads and leaves on its under side, and for sculptures, many of them now much worn and weathered, of animals (probably bears¹) on the top. The buttresses are at first enormous for the size of the building. They are exceeded in size only by those of the west front. The reason for this is that the walls, being largely filled with glass, are really incapable of bearing the thrust exerted by the glass and the roof, for it will be remembered that there is no central pillar. The buttresses are placed so as to make equal angles with adjacent sides. For about half their height they are joined to the walls. At that point they are ornamented with three gables, one of which faces outwards, and the other two at right angles to the outer face. Each gable contains

¹ See page 20.

a cusped arch-panel and is ornamented with crockets and surmounted by a finial. A horizontal gargoyle projects from the outer face of the buttress at this point. Several feet higher up than the bases of these gables the buttress, which is now narrower, is joined again to the angle formed by adjacent sides, and all three sides are now ornamented with panels which contain two compartments and geometrical tracery under a pointed gable, and are surmounted by pinnacles. Between the two portions of the buttress that are joined to the building there is an opening in the stonework which is partially filled by a short, thick flying buttress. This device relieves the buttresses from clumsiness of appearance without detracting from their strength. The whole effect is crowned by the steeply-pitched pyramidal roof.

The vestibule which joins the chapter house to the north transept is built in two bays facing northwards and three facing westwards. These bays are uneven in breadth, and show signs of carelessness in design. In general, each bay is of three perpendicular divisions; and, with the exception of the spaces for windows, the walls are quite flat and plain. The lowest division corresponds to the space occupied inside by the arcade. The base-mouldings are not so high as those of the chapter house, and continue those of the north transept. Under the windows is a plain moulding which continues the line of a similar moulding which runs along the whole of the north side of the nave and is continued on the walls of the north transept and under the Five Sisters window. A doorway was cut into the wall under the easternmost window on the north side, which is the dean's private entrance into the Minster; and the window above has in consequence been shortened. The windows are deeply recessed; and it will be noticed that in the case of the two corner windows the outer curve does not follow the line of the inner. This is

a serious blemish to the design, and appears to have been due to the placing of the two corner buttresses at the very corner, instead of a foot or so away from it. Above the windows is a shallow division which is the wall of a low chamber above the vestibule in which are stored fragments of moulded stonework from various parts of the building. This chamber is lighted with double oblong-shaped windows, one in each bay. The parapet above is plain and unrelieved by any design; a decorated cornice runs underneath.

The buttresses are tall and graceful; and, as the vestibule is not aisled, and so has only one roof, they continue in one line from base to parapet. The upper parts of the buttresses are detached, and have flying buttresses and stonework tracery. At the top the face of each buttress is gabled and pinnacled. Between the gables and the level at which the tracery of the windows begins the face of each is ornamented with a long, narrow arch overhung by a gargoyle. The buttress at the junction of the chapter house and the vestibule has no flying buttress like those found at the other angles of the sides of the chapter house, but is a curious, heavy mass of solid masonry relieved, it is true, by gables and panels.

While the interior of the choir is a continuation in its general lines of the interior of the nave, there could not be a more complete contrast than there is between the west front and the east front. The east front is much plainer, and its squareness comes as a surprise. For once the lines of the roofs are not followed. The central portion is crowned by the east window, which, as it almost fills the whole of the upper division, stands on a length of plain wall unornamented except for the mouldings of its base and a line of plain moulding and a number of heads under the window, and is framed only with simply designed panels and niches, dominates the design.

Here the architect, while bound to allow for a large window, was not also limited by having to make a doorway. So he set the window in a more or less severe framework of tall niches (some of which have pedestals) and panels on the buttresses, and of panels on the wall. The whole wall, including the side portions, he finished off with four tall octagonal pinnacles, with crockets running up the sides at the angular points, a central pinnacle above the gable of the window, and a number of smaller pinnacles, gable-shaped and ornamented. The five large pinnacles are set on square bases and surrounded at the point where they spring from their bases with steeply-pitched ornamented gables. Above the summit of the east window is the sculptured figure of an archbishop who holds a church. The sculptured heads below may be of our Lord and the Twelve Apostles, together with King Edward III, Archbishop Thoresby, and two others.

The side walls are designed in three portions: (1) the lowest one, plain except for the base-mouldings; (2) the window, set in plain masonry and its curved portions under a crocketed arch which is surmounted by a finial; and (3) an oblong piece of wall divided vertically into a number of narrow panels, which are continued round the outside buttress. There are on the buttress, below this level, two long, narrow panels, and, below, a niche with a pedestal. A curious feature about the aisle walls is that, whereas the north wall has seven smaller pinnacles, the south wall has only four.

The exterior of the choir can best be studied on the south side, as the north side does not offer good general views. The four eastern bays were separated from the four farthest west by the curious device of carrying the aisle roof to the level of the clerestory roof at the middle bay. The result has been to cut off the roof of the western portion of the aisle from

the eastern. The Minster has been the gainer by this, however, for space was thus provided for the two "walls of glass" known as the St. Cuthbert and St. William windows. There are differences in detail between the four eastern and the four western bays. The aisle windows in the former are a little narrower than those in the latter, though each has a line of ornamented moulding above them, ending in a long finial, which breaks through the parapet; the western buttresses are much smaller in cross section than the eastern; the pinnacles above them are shorter; the four eastern clerestory windows are set level with the inner face of the wall, and the four western ones level with the outer face, so that there is a passage outside the one group and inside the other group; in consequence, the eastern four have a supporting framework of stone tracery on the outside, and the western four have a line of moulding above them ending in a sculptured head at each side. In spite of these differences, however, the interior appearance of the eastern arm is remarkably uniform, and the break in the line from east to west enhances the beauty of the building and to some extent compensates for the absence of flying buttresses, of which structurally it takes the place. As in the nave, so in the eastern arm, the divisions between the clerestory windows are marked by pieces of vertical moulding which end in pinnacles above the level of the parapet.

The parapets in both nave and choir are almost identical in design and differ only in the details of the carvings of the cornices below them, and in the absence of heads in the case of the choir. The pinnacles of the aisle walls of the choir, however, contain, instead of niches for statues, four plain panels under the gables.

The five western bays are partly hidden by the low buildings outside. The amount of the fore-

shortening of the Zouche chapel when the present choir was built can be appreciated from the outside.

The massive lantern tower is worthy of notice from the exterior. Its details can easily be seen through a pair of good field glasses. Its four faces are uniform. Each is occupied almost entirely by two three-light windows, the lights of which are so high that they are divided into two by horizontal mullions with simple tracery below. In the tracery above, the straight line is emphasized above the middle light only. Above each window is a crocketed gable, which ends in a finial; and in the space between the gable and the summit of the window is a trefoil. The windows are recessed by means of steep window-sills. Between and outside the windows are three rows of compartments, the first row being niches with pedestals, and the other two rows being plain panels. All have crocketed gables above them. Each face has two buttresses, one on each side, which spring from the tops of the clerestory walls, and are divided into four panels of unequal height, each panel having a crocketed gable. Three pairs of gargoyles spring from string courses, the upper and the lower of which encircle the tower. The parapet is in character much like those above the nave and choir clerestories, but is, of course, much deeper.

It is not known whether it was intended to place pinnacles on the corners, and in the middle of the sides, of the lantern tower. Pinnacles would undoubtedly give beauty to the design. The sinking of the tower, however, made such additions impossible; and it remains unfinished. Yet few would wish it otherwise than as it is. Viewed with the mass of which it is the crown, it gives an impression of silent majesty and dignified restraint.

NOTE

A list of places is added from which near and more distant views can be obtained of the Cathedral.

NEAR VIEWS

- (1) From the porch of the Song School—the whole of the south side.
- (2) From Duncombe Place—the west front and the south side of the nave.
- (3) From High Petergate and Precentor's Court—the west front.
- (4) From Dean's Park—the whole of the north side.
- (5) From Minster Court—the north side and the chapter house.
- (6) From Chapter House Street—the chapter house and the north side of the eastern arm.
- (7) From St. William's College—the east end.

MORE DISTANT VIEWS

- (1) From Exhibition Buildings—Bootham Bar and the towers.
- (2) From Exhibition Square—the south-east corner and the west front.
- (3) From the walls between Bootham Bar and Monk Bar—several views of the north side.
- (4) From various places in and round the city; good views of the towers and of the tops of the clerestories being obtainable from the narrow streets near the Minster.
- (5) From the railway line going north.



HEAD OF WOMAN—ST. WILLIAM WINDOW



12TH-CENTURY JESSE PANEL—NAVE

CHAPTER X

THE MEDIAEVAL STAINED GLASS

WHILE anything approaching a complete account of the contents of the 109 windows of York Minster that contain mediaeval coloured glass is out of the question in this volume, the fact that the Minster contains probably more than half of the total amount of this glass that has survived compels some notice of the windows in a separate chapter. Hardly a church was built in this country, from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation, without its being decorated with coloured glass. The art of the craftsman in stained glass kept pace with the changing styles of architecture; and it was a common practice in the fifteenth century to enlarge window-spaces at the west or east ends of large churches of an earlier date so as to take advantage of the extraordinary skill of the craftsmen in stained glass. Examples of this will occur to all students of great churches.

Several causes have contributed to the loss of much mediaeval glass that cathedrals, collegiate chapels, and parish churches possessed. The zeal of the sixteenth-century reformers of religion showed itself in an attack on everything that encouraged superstition and idolatry, such as figures of saints in glass. But a far more fruitful cause was the iconoclastic spirit of the Puritans a century later, which in its destructive force has rarely been equalled and seldom if ever surpassed. The motive of both these kinds of reformers was the same—hatred of the old forms in which the mediaeval mind had both expressed itself and beautified religion. Unfortu-

nately, not all that escaped their vengeance was allowed to live. Under the cloak of "restoration," a great deal of damage was done during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Examples could be quoted of church after church which lost what mediaeval glass it had and found room for something entirely new and entirely crude. Even the Gothic revival was not free from blame in this respect. So that not only the enemies, but also the friends, of ecclesiastical art must take some share of the responsibility for the loss of much valuable mediaeval stained glass.

While only about twenty windows in York Minster contain chiefly glass that is later in date than the Reformation, a good deal of it, mercifully, being white, 109 contain mediaeval stained glass. The reason for this is that in the two most destructive periods it happened that the Minster and the parish churches of York were spared to an extent almost unbelievable. Just before the Battle of Marston Moor (July, 1644), the City of York was encompassed by three armies—that of Cromwell on the north, that of Fairfax on the south and the east, and that of Leslie on the south-west. A certain amount of damage was done to the glass of the Minster during the siege; but during the occupation of the city by the Parliamentary army after the siege Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Governor, gave orders that the Minster and the parish churches should be spared. A century and a half later, when Wyatt was destroying the grisaille of Salisbury Cathedral, Peckitt, the famous York glass painter who was entrusted with the restoration of the windows of a church so far away as Great Malvern Priory, spared the Five Sisters window, and contented himself with comparatively few alterations in the glass of the other windows. Comparatively little change has been made in the glass since Peckitt's days, and the only windows that were wholly or partly glazed with

coloured glass in the nineteenth century are ten in the north transept, five of which entirely replaced the previous glass, one in the chapter house, and one, which contains French glass, in the choir. The peculiar glory of York Minster, its mediaeval stained glass, therefore remains, not undimmed, but still the greatest treasure of its kind in this country.

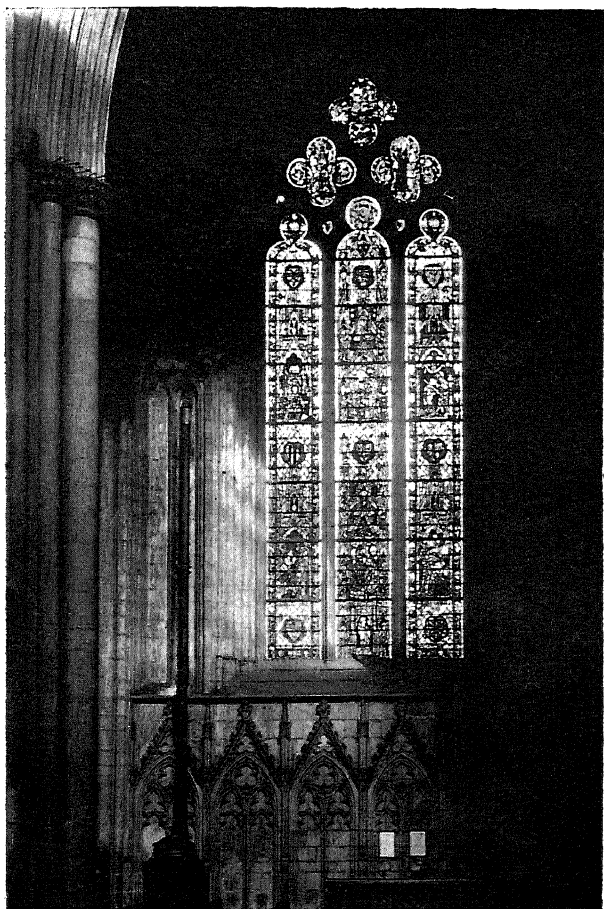
Of the glass that adorned the Norman buildings on the site very little is left. A panel that formed part of a middle-twelfth-century Jesse, and represents a figure between two branches of a tree, the whole against a blue background, is preserved in the left-hand light of the second window from the west in the clerestory on the north side of the nave. It is one of the very earliest fragments of stained glass in this country, if not the earliest. It ought to be nearer to the ground than it is. Fragments of Norman borders of the same date are to be distinguished in the "wheels" of some of the nave clerestory windows; and some of the panels in the same windows may prove to be at least of the Early English period, if not slightly older. The only other considerable piece of twelfth-century glass in the Minster is a representation, in a circular medallion set in a broad, square border, of the prophet Habakkuk feeding Daniel in the lion's den, which is at the foot of the middle light of the Five Sisters window. From its shape, design, and colours it appears to have been originally in Roger's choir, and to have been inserted in the Five Sisters window when that choir was demolished in the second half of the fourteenth century. In the tracery of some of the windows of the vestibule of the chapter house there are some fragments of glass of the same date.

While York Minster cannot lay claim to the amount of late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century glass that can be seen in Canterbury Cathedral, it still possesses, therefore, two complete panels, one of

them probably the oldest panel in this country, and a large number of fragments.

The thirteenth century witnessed a great change in the art of glass design. While much of the glass of the first half of this century that has survived, as at Lincoln and Salisbury cathedrals and in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, is in style a continuation of the previous method of design, the "medallion" method, the introduction of grisaille into this country revolutionized the art. Grisaille glass is glass the background of which is greyish-green—perhaps the nearest approach to white that could be made at the time—on which is painted in brown enamel a continuous leaf-pattern, and which is relieved by insertions of pot-metal glass in geometrical shapes. Brown enamel was the only method of applying colour to the surface of glass that was known in the thirteenth century. It had served in Norman times for marking the features of faces, human hair, and folds of coloured garments. The only other method of painting on the surface of glass that was discovered before the Reformation was that known as yellow stain, which consisted of the application of silver chloride in small or larger quantities according to the degree of colour required. Firing in a kiln completed the process. This method was discovered very early in the fourteenth century. The only colour on the surface of grisaille glass of the thirteenth century was produced by brown enamel.

Very little grisaille glass of this period has survived. It never became popular even amongst mediaeval craftsmen as a method of filling whole windows; and before the end of the seventeenth century even York Minster lost quite half of the thirteenth-century grisaille that it possessed. Two small panels remain at the heads of the two windows on the south wall of the west aisle of the south transept. It is possible—



ST. KATHERINE OR HERALDIC WINDOW—NORTH AISLE OF NAVE

nothing more definite and positive ought to be asserted—that these are the only fragments of the original grisaille which presumably filled the lancet-shaped lights in this transept. The north transept was treated more generously; for the Five Sisters window, which is really five windows, each just over fifty feet high and five feet broad, is considered not even to have been removed from the time of its insertion (about the year 1260) till the year 1923, when it was taken out panel by panel to be “preserved” as the Empire’s Memorial of the sacrifice of women and girls during the war of 1914 to 1918. Lincoln Cathedral has a little thirteenth-century grisaille; so has Salisbury Cathedral. The Five Sisters window is at once the best preserved and by far the greatest amount of Early English grisaille in existence.

The Decorated period could never have been content with grisaille any more than it was with the lancet-shaped light. The glazier kept pace with the mason. The crocketed and finialed gable of the arcade in stone was reproduced in glass over pictures of groups of people, and given prominence by the use of yellow stain. The skill of the maker of grisaille was copied in panels used alternately with such panels in the new style. Inserted in these panels were heraldic shields or other devices, which the mason was using freely for the decoration of parts of his structure. The prevailing fashion for ornament was followed in the free decoration of the inside border, which was filled with heraldic bearings such as crowns or fleur-de-lis or castles, or with scrolls of leaves, or with grotesque animals, or (as in one case in York Minster) with humorous scenes. The simple tracery above the grouped lights gave scope for a further exercise of the skill of the craftsman in glass. No more complete change from an earlier style to its successor ever took place than the change from grisaille to Decorated in

glass. Decorated glass combines the best features of both Late Norman and Early English.

It is impossible for the discerning visitor to York Minster to walk round the nave without realizing this. The alternate rows of grisaille, group, and canopy, repeated twice in each window of the nave that remains as it was inserted, the skilful use of yellow stain, sometimes more, sometimes less, always prominent, but never overdone, the skill with which the story of the life of a saint is told in six episodes in the lights and three in the tracery above, the representation of such a painful process as penance, the light play of humour in a border, the testimony to the chivalry of the Middle Ages borne by armed figures and heraldic bearings—all these combine to reveal the mind and the temper of the people who lived in the first half of the fourteenth century, and stand as a living witness to their life and their faith. A similar arrangement of subjects, with variation in details, is found in the chapter house, where the medallion is revived and combined with grisaille, and in the vestibule, where groups give place to single figures. By means of Decorated windows the supremacy of York Minster as a treasure-house of glass would be assured even if it were not assured also by the large number of Perpendicular windows in the transepts and in the choir.

Practically all the Perpendicular glass at York Minster was inserted between the years 1380 and 1440. These dates are elastic, as very few of the windows can be dated exactly. Broadly speaking, Perpendicular windows fall into three classes: (1) Early Perpendicular, the chief features of which are large figures on pedestals and under octagonal and buttressed canopies of a greenish-white colour; (2) Middle Perpendicular, with smaller groups and large figures on pedestals, under shimmering silver-pinnacled canopies which, set as they are against

blue or red backgrounds, are amongst the finest things of their kind in the world ; and (3) Late Perpendicular, again with large figures, but under short and more solid white canopies, and having for the first time groups of figures against representations of landscape. The best places for the study of these three groups of design in glass are respectively New College, Oxford (the ante-chapel), York Minster (the Lady chapel and the choir aisles and clerestory), Fairford Church (Gloucestershire), St. Neots (Cornwall), and King's College chapel, Cambridge. While each style is distinct from the other two, the first and the second are found belonging to periods where the succeeding style would be expected, as at All Souls College, Oxford (the ante-chapel), and Great Malvern Priory Church, respectively. Generally speaking, the second style is found after 1400 and the third after 1450.

Originally, York Minster was rich in glass of the Early Perpendicular period. The fire of 1829, however, which devastated the choir, mutilated so badly five of the large windows that were examples of it that now only four perfect windows of this style are left—the third from the east in the south aisle of the Lady chapel and the choir, the third and the fourth from the east in the north clerestory of the Lady chapel and the choir, and the fourth from the east in the opposite clerestory. The five damaged windows are the second, third, and fourth from the east in the north aisle of the Lady chapel and the choir, the second from the east in the opposite aisle, and the east window of the south aisle of the choir. Enough is left of the canopies of these five windows to show that originally they must have been very fine examples of windows of the Early Perpendicular period. Before the fire of 1829 all the eight windows in the clerestory of the four eastern bays of the Lady chapel were filled with stained glass, and contained

thirty-eight large figures under canopies. Three of these windows have already been referred to ; three of them (the two easternmost ones and the second from the east on the north side) are now of plain white glass ; and the other two (the second and the third from the east on the south side) contain large single figures under Decorated canopies, surmounted by groups. The presence of these Decorated canopies here is a puzzle, which is solved only by the suggestion that they are an example of the persistence into a later period of an earlier style. Another example of an earlier style is provided by the first window from the west in the north aisle of the choir, which appears to be an insertion of Decorated glass. In spite, however, of the comparative paucity of Early Perpendicular glass in the choir of York Minster, it is worth while to remember that before he became Bishop of Winchester and the founder of New College, Oxford, William of Wykeham was a canon of York, and saw the commencement of the Lady chapel of York Minster, from which he doubtless gained inspiration for the building and glazing of New College chapel.

In glass of the Middle Perpendicular period, however, York Minster is pre-eminent. Amongst the sixteen perfect windows of this period in the eastern arm of the church are three of those " walls of glass " for the designers of which Perpendicular architecture provided the opportunity—the east window (1405–1408), the St. William window (1422), and the St. Cuthbert window (1437). Besides these three large windows, however, York Minster has thirteen others—the first three from the west in the north aisle of the choir, the second from the west in the opposite aisle, the east window of the north aisle, and the first four on each side of the clerestory of the choir immediately west of the lantern tower. While it would not be true to say that the fire of 1829 did not seriously

damage some of these windows, the original glass was replaced as far as possible in new lead, even to the extent of overloading one window in particular with lead.

From a position in the choir a few yards west of the high altar it is possible for the eye of the observer to rove over an extent of Middle Perpendicular glass in aisle, clerestory, and Lady chapel, that cannot be seen anywhere else. The prevailing impression of it is one of entire harmony of colours, mainly red, white, and blue. With the Five Sisters window, the Decorated glass in the nave, and the Perpendicular glass in the choir, the supremacy of York Minster over all other English cathedrals is assured.

The only perpendicular glass in the Minster that has not been noticed here is that in the transepts and that in the lantern tower. The south transept has indeed lost nearly the whole of its original glass, but of its twenty windows twelve are filled with glass of the fifteenth century. The five windows on the east wall of the east aisle were inserted during the treasurership of Robert Wolveden (1426-1432), whose shield is in the northernmost of the five windows—azure a chevron or between three wolves' heads or. The two windows on the opposite wall belong, except for their borders, to the same period, but were not in their present position in Torre's time (the end of the seventeenth century). The circular window in the gable of the south wall, which contains in its outer ring red and white roses, was apparently designed after the end of the Wars of the Roses. The four windows underneath it are of an earlier date—probably early in the fifteenth century or late in the fourteenth century. Peckitt's hand is unmistakable in the two lancet lights above the arcade on each side of the porch.

Apart from the Five Sisters window the north

transept is disappointing from the point of view of the student of old glass. The five windows on the east wall contain figures of saints that were inserted in the time of Robert Wolveden, whose shield is in the southernmost of the five windows. The glass was "restored" in the years 1901 and 1902; but very much new glass was used, and the figures in three of the windows are entirely new. In the opposite aisle the glass of five of the six windows is distressingly modern, about sixty years old. Torre records coloured glass in these windows only, in the two southernmost windows on the west wall, and in the easternmost of the two windows on the north wall, of the aisle. The latter contains an emblem of the united roses set in plain white quarries.

The glass in the windows of the lantern tower may easily be missed if it is not pointed out. The coloured panels, representing in a double row the Keys of St. Peter, were inserted probably by Matthew Petty about the year 1470. The remainder of the glass in these eight long windows is plain.

Up to date, under the scheme for "preserving" the windows of York Minster, which was launched at a meeting held in the chapter house on November 9, 1920, addressed by H.R.H. the Duke of York, thirty-eight mediaeval windows have been removed and replaced. The whole of the work is being done in the workshops of the Dean and Chapter.

CHAPTER XI

HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CAPITULAR BODIES

FROM the beginning the clergy attached to the Cathedral church of St. Peter in York were not regulars but seculars. Before the Norman Conquest little is known about them. They had, however, lived a common life and received their emoluments out of a common fund. In this common life they resembled monks, for they had a refectory, built by Aldred (1061-1069), the last of the pre-Conquest archbishops, and probably also a dormitory. They were not, however, confined to their own house, they had no cloister, and their rule of life was much less strict than that followed by the orders of regular clergy. The title under which they were known was that of "Colidei"—"Worshippers of God"—a common enough title shared by all similar bodies. Yet in spite of the small amount of progress which monasticism made for some time in the northern province, there being no Dunstan amongst the early archbishops of York, the Cathedral church of York and its daughter churches of Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell, which all had similar secular foundations at one period of their history, became known as "Minsters," in the singular the English form of the Latin "monasterium."

Very little, as has been said, is known about the clergy at York before the Norman Conquest. The troubles which immediately followed the coming of the Normans both scattered the canons of York, only three of whom out of seven were found at their posts on the arrival of Thomas, and destroyed their

records. One of the few remnants of pre-Conquest ecclesiastical life at York is the copy of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels in the Dean and Chapter library.¹ Another is the Horn of Ulphus.²

The building activity of the Normans at the end of the eleventh century, evidences of which are apparent all over the country, at Durham and Tewkesbury, York and Romsey, Ely and Christchurch, Canterbury and Gloucester, Rochester and Winchester, was accompanied by a legislative activity which laid the foundations of an ecclesiastical life on which future generations built. At York the earliest statutes are those of Archbishop Thomas. The first work before him was to provide for the maintenance of the canons. Before the Conquest, as has been said, this had been arranged for by means of a common fund, which all shared, and which was produced from estates belonging to the capitular body. Thomas altered this to a system of prebends. A prebend consisted of a church somewhere in the diocese³ and estates belonging to it. Membership of the cathedral body thus implied a double duty—(1) the observance of the “canons” or rules of the cathedral (hence the term “canon”), and (2) the spiritual care of a parish added to the administration of its estates. Thomas provided for a deanery and, ultimately, thirty-six canonries and prebends. Of the canons, all were technically responsible for an equal share in the life and the work of the cathedral, as all had stalls in the choir and prebendal churches and estates. In practice, however, it was necessary to appoint out of their number certain individuals who were actually responsible for the various departments of cathedral administration. At the head was the dean, first appointed in the year 1090 after an intermediate period in which, as at Beverley

¹ See Appendix IV.

² See Appendix III.

³ The diocese was much larger in the Middle Ages than it is now.

permanently, an official called the Provost was the head of the chapter. While the position of dean appears to have been from the first, as it still is, that of *primus inter pares*, his dignity was duly provided for in the statutes. He was directed to be the celebrant on the greater days or festivals, when he was attended by three deacons and three subdeacons; the vicars-choral were required on their entrance into the choir to bow first to the altar, then to the dean, then to the crucifix; on Candlemas Day the dean had the duty of blessing the candles, and on Palm Sunday the palms; as almoner of the dean and chapter he fed forty poor people every day and distributed the doles to the poor on Maundy Thursday, when he washed the feet of the recipients; the chapter could not meet without him if he was in England, but if he was abroad the senior canon acted for him—the chapter Acts often contain the statement that the chapter met, *decano in remotis agente*. In the church, that is to say, in public services and in ecclesiastical status, the archbishop naturally took precedence of the dean; but in the chapter the dean came first. Next after the dean in seniority in the chapter came the Precentor, who, in days before organs and organists and lay choirs, had the important function of directing everything connected with the singing of the services. In precedence the precentor was followed by the Chancellor, the keeper of the common seal, whose office, extending as it did before the Norman Conquest, even, say some, to the time of Alcuin, was largely educational. He was to be learned in theology,¹ in which he was directed to give lectures. He was in charge of the school attached to the cathedral, and he appointed the masters of other schools. The preaching arrangements were placed in his hands, and it was his duty to study and to write the history of the cathedral. The last of the

¹ "S.T.P." = "Sacrae Theologiae Professor."

four dignitaries—"the four greater persons" they, are called—was the Treasurer, whose chief function was to be the keeper or the custodian of the church, to receive and pay money on behalf of the Dean and Chapter, and to observe and report all breaches of duty. None of the dignitaries was responsible to the dean, but only to the Dean and Chapter.

Both the chancellor and the treasurer, like the precentor, had deputies. To the Sub-Chancellor belonged the duties of arranging the reading in the choir and the supervision of the thurifers and the deacons. For his work he received a stipend of twenty shillings a year. The Sub-Treasurer's annual stipend was forty marks. He had also a quarterly allowance of twelve and a half marks for feeding the clerks of the vestry and the sacrists at Michaelmas, Christmas, Easter, and the Feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th). The treasurer's department had charge of the payment of the salaries of many of the other minor officials—the clerks of the vestry (twenty shillings a year each), three sacrists (eight shillings each), those who kept clean the vestments, and other minor officials.

The details that are given in the account of the duties of the treasurer and his deputy throw much light on the appearance of the church and its customs. To their duties were added those of providing the lights in the choir and at the altars, the hay to be laid down in the choir, the vestry, and the rooms of the sacrists on all double feasts from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel to Pentecost, ivy which covered the hay at Easter, and the mats and rushes at Christmas and Easter. Three times a year the choir, the vestry, the pulpit, and the houses of the canons residentiary, the treasury, and the rooms of the sacrists were laid with rushes. The treasurer provided the bread and the wine for all Masses and for the Communion of the faithful at Easter, and wine

for washing the altars on Maundy Thursday. He provided also wood for the fire to bake the oblates, and an oven for the same purpose. The materials for the bells, such as ropes and wood and metalwork, were a charge on his accounts, together with the repairs to the clock.

One other official appointed by the statutes ought to be mentioned—the Chief Sacrist. His duty was to summon meetings of the Dean and Chapter, to arrange for the ringing of the bells, and to open and close the church.

Every canon, whether a dignitary or not, was empowered to “protest,” or to claim in the presence of the Dean and Chapter, his residence. The “greater” residence, that is, residence for the first year, lasted for twenty-six weeks, and the lesser residence for twenty-four weeks. During his residences, every canon had to attend the hour offices unless he was ill, or unless he had been bled. He was not supposed to leave the city more than two or three times during his residence, or to go into the city after supper. In any case, his place when the curfew was rung was in his own house.

The four dignitaries, however, were regarded as being in perpetual residence—a period in each year which is determined by the statutes as being the greater part of the year. For their special reward all who came into residence received a share of the common fund. There was thus every inducement to limit the number of residentiaries; as a point was reached when that share became so small that it did not pay a canon to reside. In theory, however, every canon was an effective person in the life of the cathedral. The practice, therefore, began of the employment of deputies whose chief duty was to represent the canons in the cathedral. Long before the custom became compulsory, as it did in the time of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1216–1255), the

statutes recognized this tendency. It is never far from the truth to assume that every mediaeval ecclesiastic had a deputy for every separate office that he held. So flagrant became the evil that the same person could hold a number of offices and never fulfil either the residence or the duties of a single one. The earliest statutes at York provide for assistance to the various dignitaries—the dean had a sub-dean, even though in name only, the precentor had a succentor amongst the canons as well as amongst the vicars who deputized for certain canons, and the treasurer had a sub-treasurer. But every canon was allowed to provide a deputy, if he paid him. The inference from the earliest statutes is that this need be done only in cases of absence; and it is not clear that every canon was expected to have a deputy who was bound specially and only to himself. That the custom was general, however, and that the vicars began to play a regular part in the life of the cathedral, is clear from the rule which directs that no vicar should enter the choir after the singing of the *Gloria Patri* at the end of the first Psalm at any service, and that on entering the choir the vicars should bow first to the altar, then to the dean, then to the crucifix.

The chief work of the vicars was the chief work for which the canons were responsible, that is, attendance at, and the singing of, the services. In this the vicars were assisted by the boys of the choir, whose crowns were to be shaved. The qualification for a choristership was the possession of a good voice and the ability to sing well. In course of time a promising boy might be advanced, through the positions of thurifer, sub-deacon, deacon, and vicar-choral, to priest's orders.

The earliest statutes of the church bring to mind a great cathedral surrounded with all the dignity that a metropolitan church required. A chapter consisting

of a dean, a precentor, a chancellor, and a treasurer, with the archdeacons of the diocese, the sub-dean, and the canons and prebendaries, a system of deputies not yet abused, a scheme for the advancement of boys of ability and vocation to higher posts in the church—this was the constitution of the church as left by Archbishop Thomas.

No additions were made to the statutes till the year 1221, just before the demolition of Thomas's south transept was commenced. In that year a committee of the chapter, consisting of Roger de Insula (dean), Godfrey de Norwich (precentor), Walter de Wysbech (archdeacon of the East Riding), and John Romanus and Robert de Wyntonia (canons), after inquiry as to the customs of neighbouring cathedrals, made certain recommendations, which were accepted by the Dean and Chapter and confirmed by the archbishop (Walter de Gray), and thus acquired statutory authority. These recommendations dealt chiefly with the periods of residence of the canons and with the common fund. The four dignitaries, it was agreed, should reside permanently, as before; the archdeacons who were also canons, for three months, so as to set them free for the rest of the year for their diocesan duties; and the remainder of the canons for six months, which might be divided into two periods of three months each. Residence was defined as residing and sleeping "in the City of York round their Church," and attending mattins and the hour services, unless hindered by sickness. Absence for one night, or even two nights, a week was allowed, provided that this did not become a habit. The residue of the common fund was to be divided, after all debts had been paid, amongst the residentiaries equally, so that each received 6*d.* a day, 12*d.* on certain feasts, and 2*s.* on others.

An interesting point arose in connexion with the holding of two prebends by William, the treasurer,

both of which belonged to his office. In virtue of these he demanded a double share of the common fund. The Dean and Chapter, however, decided that as he could not fulfil the conditions of double residence he was not entitled to receive double emoluments.

The greatest constitutional change that had taken place, however, since Thomas's time was due to Walter de Gray. Confirming certain arrangements drawn up by the Dean and Chapter in the month of November, 1252, the archbishop gave his sanction to the foundation of a college of vicars-choral. The practice of the canons in the appointment of deputies or vicars to represent them in the services of the cathedral has been mentioned. Up to this time, however, there seems to have been no compulsion and no regularity in the matter. Now, however, every canon was compelled to have his vicar, who, because his chief duty was to sing in the choir services, was called a Vicar-Choral. From this time forward the normal number of vicars-choral was thirty-six—one for each canon—and they formed a separate corporation.

The existence of a corporation or a college within another corporation, a cathedral or other chapter, was a feature of the constitution of the large churches of secular canons, such as York, Beverley, Southwell (after the Norman Conquest and its union with York), Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, Exeter, Wells, Chichester, and others, most of which were cathedrals. In some cases, as at Wells, laymen were admitted into the junior corporation, so that there were, and still are, at those places lay vicars as well as priest vicars. So far, colleges of this kind have received at the hands of ecclesiastical historians less than their due share of attention. The history of the college at York may be taken as typical, in its outlines at least, of the history of such bodies; and owing to

the responsible position occupied by it in the daily life of the cathedral from the time of its foundation to the present day a special chapter ¹ is devoted to it in this book. It will therefore receive no special notice in this chapter.

Only three or four notable additions were made to the statutes of the cathedral after Walter de Gray's time until the Reformation. They are dated 1290, 1291, 1294, and 1325. Those of the years 1290 and 1291, after making fresh rules which affected the vicars-choral—rules which imply that thus early in the history of their college the relations of the vicars-choral with the Dean and Chapter were not of the best—dealt mostly with the canons and their estates. The canons' houses were declared to be extra-parochial—the college of vicars-choral had always had this character; no member of the household of a deceased canon had any claim on his former master's estate that was not supported by the will of the canon; fees due to canons who had granted leases of prebendal property belonged of right to the Dean and Chapter; it was the duty of canons to keep prebendal buildings in repair—a dilapidations question in the Middle Ages; any tenant who in a dispute with the Dean and Chapter sought legal advice without the consent of the Dean and Chapter (*qui secum narratorem aliquam de curia contra voluntatem predictorum decani et capituli produceret*) was to be punished by having his rent doubled at the next rent-day; "farms," or estates outside and in addition to the prebends and the common estates of the Dean and Chapter, to the number of twenty-one, were granted to the canons, entailing an extra residence of twelve weeks a year to each canon who held one, on pain of forfeiture of the "farm"; these farms were to be granted on the principle of seniority of appointment, provided always that the statutory periods

¹ Chapter XII.

of residence had been completed. Four of these "farms"—Laneham, and Askham with Drayton and Gipismere (in Nottinghamshire), Kirkby Irelyth (Westmorland), and Lissington (Lincolnshire)—lay outside the bounds of the present diocese, and the Dean and Chapter are still patrons of all these benefices. In 1290 the treasurer was empowered to spend the money *ad onera ecclesiæ sustendanda*—a reference to the proposed commencement of the building of the nave.

The most interesting of the rules made in 1294 concerned the making of an inventory of books, ornaments, vestments, and other things in the church and in the treasury, and of a survey of all the prebends. The book in which the results of this survey were entered is still in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

The statutes of 1325 take the reader of them out of York to the estates of the Dean and Chapter. After the injunction that the Dean and Chapter ought to visit their property—"dignities, prebends, offices, or farms"—from time to time, it is directed that the dean's train shall consist of nineteen horses, that the canon who accompanies him on behalf of the chapter shall have five, and that for their expenses they shall receive 46s. 8d., while each of the estates visited shall contribute forty marks. Itineraries of visits of this kind are to be found in the records of almost every Dean and Chapter. They are a strange comment both on modern methods of transit and on the prices now charged for accommodation in inns, hotels, and other places of rest and refreshment.

This short account of the mediaeval statutes of York Minster may conclude with an account of the furniture, fittings, etc., for which the prebendaries, the vicars, and the parishioners of each prebendal church were responsible as it was built, and for the maintenance of which they had to provide. The

prebendary's share was the chancel and its windows, all the books except the missal, all the vestments except the festal ones, a choir cope, a tunicle and a dalmatic, corporals, surplices with rochets, altar and sanctuary cloths, standing candlesticks of bronze, and a Lenten curtain, with other ornaments. To the vicar of the church, for his share, was assigned the duty of providing and maintaining, amongst other things, the pyx, the chrism, the cruets, the boat for incense, the bell, the sanctuary lamp, the chains of the thurible, the banner for the processional cross, the fastenings and the covers of books when these had to be renewed, the forms and desks in the chancel, the stole which is borne for the dead with the Body of Christ, the canopy above the Blessed Sacrament, the candlestick for the Paschal candle, the stand for the book (the missal?), and the table for the pax.¹ The parishioners provided the festal vestments with choir cope, tunicle, and dalmatic, the missal, a chalice, the font, the bells and the handbells, the cross to be carried for the dead, the bier, with a vessel for holy water, and the making and the repair of the nave and the churchyard.

A list such as this explains the comparative ease with which a mediaeval church was erected and furnished.

The mediaeval statutes have been given at this length not only because of the picture which they bring to mind of the daily life which centred round a great cathedral, but also because in many particulars they are the foundation on which the conduct of the cathedral of the present day is based, in spite of the fact that in several important directions they have been since altered, notably under Henry VIII, William III, and George III.

In the year 1541, Henry VIII, acting as *in terra supremum caput Anglicanæ ecclesiæ*, addressed to the

¹ Passed round during the *Agnus Dei* for the people to kiss.

archbishop (Edward Lee, 1531-1544) and the Dean and Chapter a new set of statutes under the royal seal. He complained that no canon-prebendary was regarded as a residentiary who did not spend in entertainment the sum of 1,000 marks soon after he began to reside. This evil custom, he directed, should be abolished. The custom of "protesting" residence was to be continued. The term of residence was fixed at twenty-four weeks in the year. In cathedrals where there were only two or three residentiaries, at least one should reside all the year; if there were four or six, then two at the least; if five, then alternately two and two. The residentiaries were to be present at vespers, mattins, and High Mass at least. The four archdeacons, however (of York, Nottingham, the East Riding, and Cleveland), if residentiaries, were allowed thirty days' freedom from residence each year if their residence was the lesser one, but no leave of absence if their residence was the greater and longer one. Residence was defined as living in a canonical house within or near the cathedral close.

Already, before the Reformation, the tendency had shown itself for the canons who protested residence, and the four dignitaries, to regard themselves as a smaller chapter, and to act without consulting the whole chapter. Henry VIII directed that every canon, whether residentiary or non-residentiary, should be summoned to every chapter meeting and should vote at it, as they were *fratres et membra ecclesiæ*. It was in this respect that the changes introduced by the Reformation into the customs of cathedrals of secular foundation differed profoundly from those made at the same time into the character of cathedrals of regular clergy. In the latter the new and reformed chapters were invariably smaller chapters, that is, bodies that consisted only of deans and residentiary canons.

Even to the present day, the chapters of such places as Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Ripon do not include the non-residentiary canons at any other time than on formal occasions. As will be seen, at York the chapter is still a greater chapter, and includes the non-residentiary canons.

At the same time, as an example of one of the questionable reforms introduced by Henry VIII at York, canons whose stalls were of a greater value than £8 a year were encouraged to neglect to fulfil their preaching duties in the Minster by a rule which forced them to pay to the chancellor of the cathedral the sum of 6s. 8*d.* each as a kind of preaching fund, out of which, on Rogation Days and certain Sundays, he could pay for the services of preachers whom he could obtain. Such preachers were to be chosen amongst those who held the licence of the archbishop for the purpose. This, it was distinctly enjoined, must not interfere with the customs of the cathedral, nor encourage the dean, the chancellor, or others to evade their preaching duties—but human nature is often proof against rules and regulations. Archbishop Neile, in his Articles of Enquiry (1632), pertinently asked “whether the prebendaries observe duely in their owne persons their turnes at times appointed for them to preach in the same Church, and, if not, whoe offend therein?” For his trouble in selecting preachers, the chancellor was granted out of the preaching fund the sum of 13s. 4*d.* every year; and the balance of the fund, if any, was to be divided annually on St. Martin’s Day, when the payments for the next year were due, or within eight days, amongst the poor.

A perusal of Henry VIII’s statutes, which were issued at Westminster by the authority of King and Parliament on June 3, 1541, makes it abundantly clear that very little at York called for reform. Besides the treasurership, which was abolished in

1547, only four prebends were dissolved—Bramham, Masham, Salton, and South Cave.

William III's statute, dated at Westminster, February 15, 1698, and issued under the Great Seal, is very short. The occasion of it was an inquiry from the canons as to whether the dean could be regarded as a residentiary (and, therefore, compelled to reside for a certain period each year). The reply was that the dean, in virtue of his deanery, was a residentiary, just like every residentiary canon in virtue of his canonry. The period of the dean's residence is not mentioned. At the same time, the number of residentiaries was fixed at five.

Here the Latin statutes end, and the English ones, those of George III, begin. As with those of William III, the statutes issued by George III had their origin in an inquiry on the part of the Dean and Chapter as to whether certain statutory customs that were in force could be either modified or abolished. They complained that the custom of "protesting" residence on the death of a residentiary compelled the dean to admit "one who, either from chance or artifice, first makes his protest before him," whether he was a suitable person or not. The length of residence, too, was longer than that at Canterbury, St. Paul's, Westminster, Windsor, Durham, Ely, Salisbury, or any other English cathedral or collegiate church, and the income of the residentiaries from the cathedral was smaller. On June 3, 1767, the King's statute was promulgated. Three months a year was fixed as the limit of residence; when the dean was in residence, another residentiary was required to reside at the same time; each residentiary was allowed to provide a deputy from amongst the other residentiaries or prebendaries if he was "prevented from attending Divine Service by sickness, or by any other urgent cause"; and the dean was allowed the period of three months on the death of a resi-

dentiary "to deliberate therein upon such protests as might be made before him, and to choose out of such qualified prebendaries one of them to supply that vacant office"; and if the dean did not appoint a residentiary within three months, the senior canon-residentiary was empowered to do so.

In addition to the statutes, which are legally binding, there have been issued from time to time since the Reformation injunctions, usually by archbishops, though the first set came with royal authority from Edward VI. Injunctions have not the legal force of statutes, which, besides being approved by the archbishop, must be passed by the Dean and Chapter. They usually had their origin in questions addressed by archbishops to the Dean and Chapter; on the answers to those questions the archbishop based his injunctions. The Dean and Chapter were not, however, bound by any injunction that contradicted a statute. If injunctions were accepted, however, they were morally binding.

Injunctions were issued by Edward VI in 1547, by Archbishops Holgate (in 1552), Grindal (in 1572), Neile (in 1632), Frewen (in 1662), Dolben (in 1685), and Harcourt (in 1841). The following extracts may be found interesting:

Edward VI (1547)

Item they [the clergy] shall not haunte or resorte to tavernes or alehowses, nor geve theymeselves to drynking, dysing, carding, hunting, hawking, or any other unlawfull games, but shall, after service is done, geve theme selves to reading and studieng of Scripture, and of the good expositours thereof, or to some other vertuose and godlie exercise.

Item they shall not suffer any suspecte woman to resorte unto theire howses or chambers, nor shall resorte to any suche woman in any other place.

Item they shall maike a librarie in some convenient place within their church within the space of one yeare next ensuyng this Visitation, and shall leye in the same Saynte Augustyne's, Basill, Gregorie Nazanzene, Hierome, Ambrose, Chrisostome, Cipriane, Theophilast, Erasmus, and other good writers' workes.

Item they shall not sweare nor blaspheme the name of God, nor use ony wanton, fylthye, checking, scornfull, or taunting wordes, but their communycacion shalbe honest, w^toute contencion, vertuose, jentil, lerned, and tending to the edification of other.

Item they shall have every daie some parte of Holy Scripture red in Englishe at the table in the tyme of their meales to thentente they having communycacion thereof maie utterlie avoid all other slanderouse and unfruytfull talking.

Item they shall ley in the quere two Bibles of the largest volume in Englishe for the mynisters to use, and two other of like sorte in the bodie of the church in such mete and convenient places as every other person commyng thether maie have recorse to the same.

Item . . . for the avoyding of riott and dyverse inconveniences . . . the Kinges majestie willethe and commandethe that the deane and all the prebendaries and other ministers of those churches shall surcease frome singing of Divyne service in the night tyme . . . and begynne Mattens at sixe of the clocke in the mornyng.

Also they shall fynde such choresters as have served in the church fyve yeares or more, and haithe their voyces chaunged, at some grammer scole, and give theme yearelie ijli. vjs. viijd. owt of the revennewes of the common landes for the space of fyve yeares.

Item youe shall sing or celebrate in note or song

within your said churche but onelie one Masse, that is to say High Masse onelie, and none other, and dailie begynne the same at ix of the clocke before none.

Item youe shall dailie from the feaste of th' Annunciation to the first daie of Octobre sing your Evensonge and Complyne withoute ony Responses and begynne the same at three of the clocke in the afternone. The residew of the yeare to begynne at twoo of the clocke, or half an howre after.

Item youe shall hereafter omytt and not use the singing of ony Howres, Prime, Deriges, or Commendacions, but every man to saie the same as he haith tyme or is disposed.

Item youe shall singe, saie, use, or suffer none other Anthemes in your churches but thos hereafter following, and suche as by the Kinges majestie and his mooste honorable counseill hereafter shalbe sett furthe.

Item all sermons collacions and lectures of Divinitie . . . shall not be used in the Latyn tongue, but in th' Englishe, to thentent that every man having recorse therunto maie well perceyve the same.

Archbishop Holgate (1552)

Firste wee do will, charge and commaunde that all and singulere the Kinges maties Injunctions given by thauctoritye of our most dradde soverayne lorde Edwarde the Sixte . . . be justelie and truelie observed and kepte. . . .

Also we will and commaunde that every prebendary and other havinge dignitie as afforesaid, beinge residente within the said citie or suburbes of the same by the space of thre daies, shall come to the Communion in the Cathedral Churche of Yorke every Sonday and holiday and to the Kinges Letany. . . . And also that he do not sitte

in the quere there, nor come to the chapter . . . , nor preche in the said chapter house, not havinge his abitt assigned by the Kinges proceedinges upon him. . . .

Also wee will and commaunde that there be none other note sunge or used in the said Churche . . . savinge square note, playne, so that every sillable may be playnelie and distinctlie pronounced and understood . . . , and further the Lessons to be distinctlie, playnelie, and apertlie with a lowde voice redde, so that which shalbe sunge and redde may be well herde and understood of the laye and ignorant people.

Also wee will and commaunde that the deacons not applienge theirselves in goinge to the gramer scole daylie afre thre monicions to every such offendour maide or given by any of the residentiaries, and semleable wise not applienge there bookes for there bettir advauncement in lernynge be expulsed . . . and in like fashion if the vergers do not attende the quere in Divyne service tyme and for the expulsion of beggers, other lighte persons and dogges . . . and do not amend upon thre monicions given unto them by the residentiaries . . . we will they be expulsed and other put in there rowmes. . . .

Also wee will and commaunde that the auncient Doctors of the church (thoes we call auncient that did write within vj hundreth yeares after Christes Ascencion), Masculus Commentaries upon Mathue, and John Brentius upon Luke, Caloyne and Bullinger upon the Epistles, Erasmus Annotations on the Newe Testament, be provyded with all convenient spede, so that they be placed in the library . . . to the ende that such as be not of habilitie to provide them . . . may resorte to the common library and there perwse them according-lye.

Also wee will and commaunde that by all meanes possible, as well by sparring of the dowres as by any other meanes that caune be devised, the doves from tyme to tyme be kepte furthe of the said Church. . . .

Also we will and commaunde that no minister frome hensfurthe in the Cathedral Church of York do shave his crowne. . . .

Also we will and commaunde that the monumesntes and tabernacles where images did stande and namelie over the place called the hie altare to be taken downe with most convenient spede, and the said place so to be ordered that the same may be paynted with sentences of Holie Scripture.

Also wee will and commaunde that there be the full nombre of xijth queresters, accordinge to the auncient custome of the Church of Yorke, hable to ministre in there vocacion . . . and that none be admytted to be querester but such as shortlie after may be maid hable to serve in the quere and do other there duytie in the said Church.

Also we will and commaunde that there be no more playnge of the orgaynes either at the Mornynge prayour, the Communion, or the Evenynge prayour . . . but that the said playnge do utterlie cease and be left the tyme of Divyne service within the said church.

Also forsomuch as playnge of the orgaynes ought and must be ceased . . . we thinke it mete that the master of the queresters for the tyme beinge . . . do his diligence to his power to serve God in such vocacion as he can conveniently and may . . . to helpe to singe Divyne service to the uttermost of his power within the quere of the Church of Yorke, speciallie of the Sondays and other Holidais.

Also we will and commaunde that the keper of the gaites shalbe diligent in executinge his office,

and, namelie, in kepinge of the gaites belonginge to the close . . . withoute takinge any money for lettinge of any person in and oute after the houres appointed. . . .

Archbishop Grindal (1572)

Item . . . that the deane and chapitor shall cause with as convenient spede as may be one perfecte survey to be mayde of all the landes and renews aswell in common as also to the deane, anye office, or prebendes of the saide Church belonginge, and to contynue the same from tyme to tyme hereafter as shalbe most expedyent. . . .

Item that every yere foure prebendaryes be appointed by the deane and chapitor *in pleno capitulo* who with some discrete mason, carpenter, glasyer, and plummer shall survey the fabricke of the Church of Yorke and well vew the sayme ; and afterwards gyve in wrytinge their opinions to the deane and chapitor concerninge the present state of the fabricke of the saide Church and that all decayes so presented be spedelye amended.

Item that the precentor of the Church of Yorke . . . and the mayster of the choristers provide that the saide choristers . . . be vertuouslye brought upp and taughte in the principles of religion and that they cause them to be examyned thrise in every quarter of a yere in the Englishe catechisme nowe lately set furthe and enlarged.

Item that the vergers of the Cathedrall Church of Yorke suffer no man to walke in the bodye of the Church or in anye parte thereof in sermon tyme . . . and that if anye person so contemptuouslye walke then they to present them unto us and other our associates the queens majesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiasticall within the Province of Yorke to be corrected. And also that the same vergers diligentlye attend in the quere in tyme of Devyne

service and procure that then there be sylence and quietnes.

Item that no moniment, charter, evidence, or other wrytinge . . . be tayken out of the tresorye, revestrye, or librarie, except he that tayketh the same write his name in a booke to be provided for the same purpose, testifyenge the contentes of the same wrytinge and byndinge himself to restore the same againe.

Archbishop Neile (1632): Articles of Enquiry (Extracts).

Item whether any member in this Church be suspected in religion or doe maintaine any parte of erroneous opinion or not ?

Item whether fightinge, quarrellinge, brauelinge, or chideing, in your said Cathedrall Church or Church yarde, as also walkinge, talkinge, jangling, and other disorderly and unsemely behaviour be forbidden in the same Church, especially in times of Divine service . . . and, if not, in whome is the defaulte, and whoe offend therein ?

Item whether any have come to their ecclesiasticall liveinges in that Church by symonie or other unlawfull meanes, and whoe they be ?

Item whether anie minister, member, or other officer of the same Church be knowne, suspected, noted, or diffamed of any lewd or evill demeanour in conversacion or manners, as especially of adultery, fornicacion, drunkennes, swearinge, idlenes, gameing, or such like ? If there be any such, what be their names and offences ?

Archbishop Frewen (1662)

Item that considering the present necessities of the quire it is . . . hereby ordered that every dignitary of the Church shall yearly pay one full

tenth of his dignity . . . and also that every prebendary in the said Church, the value of whose prebend is above xxli. . . . shall likewise pay one full tenth of his said prebend. . . . The said payments . . . onely to continue soe long untill some other way of sufficient maintenance can be found out for the said quire out of the said lands, tenements, and revenues belonging to the vicars chorall or otherwise. And for the other prebends under the value of xxli. they are left to their old proporcions respectively of xls. per annum. . . .

Item that the great organ be made and sett upp before Michaelmas next.

Item that the chymes be put in good tune.

Item that the deane doe dayly relieve the number of forty poore people according to the statute¹ in that case made and provided.

Archbishop Dolben (1685)

Item wee require and enjoyne that the great organ . . . be with all convenient speed repaired and made fitt for service, and that a more decent cover be provided for the font.

Item whereas it hath been presented unto us in this our Visitation . . . that the house wherein Mr. Tobias Coniers² now dwells is not a prebendall house wee admonish and order the said Mr. Tobias Coniers before the time of his next course of residence to provide himself with some prebendal house and in such house to keepe his residence hereafter. . . .

Item whereas the dignityes and prebends in this and other Churches are expressly founded for attending and celebrating Divine service in the same wee have yet with greif observed that many of them when they are to preach doe spend the

¹ Of Archbishop Thomas's time (late eleventh century.)

² Prebendary of North Newbald.

time of prayers in the vestry or elsewhere, not coming into the quire till they are called to the pulpit, to the offence of the congregation, and lessening the esteeme of the holy offices of the Church, we require and enioyne that from henceforth every dignitary and prebendary of this Church being to preach be present in his proper stall and devoutly assisting in the whole service, and every other preacher in some other stall of the quire, and from thence fetched and attended by the vergers to the pulpit.

Item . . . we think it a reproach . . . that the choristers should be left at large to grow up without being soe seasoned with religion as they ought. Wee doe repeat and reinforce the Injunctions of sundry Archbishops who have preceded us and require the precentor (the particular superior of the quire) that he take care, by giving such order to the master of the choristers and succentor as he shall see needfull that the said choristers be soe placed as that they may be vertuously and Christianly educated ; and that they be examined by himself or some other grave and godly person by him appointed every moneth in the Church Catechism.

In 1840 and 1841 Acts were passed which, in view of the findings of the Ecclesiastical Commission that had been at work for some time, made certain changes in the cathedral establishments. The application of those Acts to York is to some extent a matter of uncertainty. Archbishop Harcourt's injunctions, issued in 1841, were based partly on the old statutes, partly on the Acts themselves, and partly on the customs which for long had been in force at York. These injunctions are easily accessible.

In recent times the appointment of a residentiary canon who did not nominally hold one of the ancient

prebends was the signal for a long controversy as to whether the non-residentiary canons were really members of the chapter or whether they were, as in other cathedrals, honorary or merely titular canons. The case was argued with great skill on both sides. Finally, on May 9, 1881, a "Report of the Committee of Chapter on the Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of York" was presented to the chapter and adopted. This report concludes as follows: "Subsequently to the Reformation the tendency at York, as elsewhere, was for the Prebendaries to avoid the burden of Residence as much as they could. Many of their houses, therefore, have fallen into lay hands or into decay, and the interest of the Prebendaries in the Cathedral has been diminished. Although their old rights and privileges were strengthened in some respects by the Statutes of Henry VIII, few non-Residentiaries cared even to visit the Cathedral of which they were members. One natural result of this conduct was to elevate the Residing Prebendaries to a higher position in the Cathedral than before, and to throw upon them the duties which non-residing Dignitaries could not perform. The influence also of the Dean, who frequently resided longer than the others, proportionately increased.¹ Still, whenever the non-Residentiaries attended the Chapter, they were always recognized as brethren and members; and at the present time they are summoned to all the Chapter meetings, and take part in all the business that is brought before them. It is earnestly hoped that no breach will be made in the present unity of the Chapter, which is acceptable to all."

The recent appointment by the Church Assembly of a commission the object of which is to collect information about all the cathedral establishments

¹ To this might be added now the fact that three recent deans have held also the office of precentor.

for the purposes of a report on which doubtless legislation will be based makes the position of cathedral chapters once again liable to alteration. What the effect of this legislation will be at York will be awaited with interest.

CHAPTER XII

THE BEDERN COLLEGE AND CHAPEL

THE origin of the college of vicars-choral has been explained. Since the year 1252, when the college came into existence, it has had a continuous history to the present day. The history of similar bodies has not been written as fully as it deserves to be from the fact that, apart from the business side of the work of the Dean and Chapter, the conduct of the services from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards fell to the vicars-choral and similar bodies in cathedrals and collegiate churches. The number of mediaeval documents that has been preserved varies in different cathedrals. At York the sub-chanter and the vicars-choral are fortunate in having a large number of mediaeval and other documents relating to the history of their college. It is on them and on the cathedral statutes that the following short historical account of the college is based.

From the time of the foundation of the college, the number of vicars-choral was 36. Each canon was compelled to have his own vicar, and pay him the sum first of a penny a day and then of 40s. a year for his services. The sole duty of the vicars-choral at first was to deputize for the canons who were not in residence; gradually, however, they performed the duties of all canons in the services, whether the canons were present or not, and their work greatly increased when chantries began to be founded.

From the first, the vicars-choral were directed to select one of their number to be their chief. His

relationship to his brethren was similar to that of the dean to the canons, that of *primus inter pares*. His office is older than the college, for in the earliest statutes the precentor is empowered to appoint two deputies—the *Succentor major* (or the *Succentor Canonicorum*) and the *Succentor Vicariorum*. The latter had thus on the foundation of the college an additional duty, that of *Custos* or Keeper of the House or College called the Bedern.¹ The college consisted of a refectory, a common hall, and a chapel,² with separate houses, as at Wells, in which the vicars lived. The site of the college was a few hundred yards from the east end of the Minster, along what was known until recent times as Vicar Lane, but is now called College Street, from the restored St. William's College. The site is said by Dugdale to have been given to the vicars in 1248 by William de Lanum, Canon of York, and the name by which it is still known is "The Bedern."

Like the sub-chanter (to give him his English title), vicars-choral had a double duty—to the cathedral and to their own body. The former duty is defined from time to time in the statutes. In general, it was fulfilled by regular attendance at the services. There were, however, many incidental matters which needed statutory definition. According to the earliest statutes, every vicar had the right to be fed at his canon's table, but only when he had been present at mattins, which, it will be remembered, was sung very early in the morning. Punctuality and good manners at the services were enjoined, as has been pointed out.³ On the death of his canon, the vicar was allowed to take possession of his choir robes.

As may be expected, Walter de Gray's statutes contain further references to the vicars. After

¹ The name still used for the old chapel of the vicars and the district in which the houses of the vicars were. Its meaning is uncertain.

² Founded in 1348.

³ See page 136.

defining the Hour Services as Greater (Mattins, Prime, High Mass at the High Altar, Vespers, in Lent Compline, Placebo and Dirige) and Lesser (Terce, Sext, Nones, Compline out of Lent, and Commendation with Mass), the archbishop enjoined on the vicars certain attendance at the services. A vicar might be absent from mattins once a week, or even twice, provided that this did not become a habit with him. He might miss daily one of the greater Hours or two of the lesser Hours. Absences on the part of the vicars were to be marked by the chamberlain¹ of the vicars. For this service his salary was 10*d.* a week. Every Saturday the vicars were to meet before the chapter to receive due "instruction and correction," and to be reminded of the requirements of the statutes. Candidates for the position of vicar had to pass an examination in reading and singing, to take an oath of fidelity to the Church, and to promise to learn by heart within a year the Psalms and other things which the vicars had to sing at the services.

During the first four decades of the life of the college the conditions of appointment—good character, a good voice, and the like—appear not to have been universally observed, for in 1291 a statute enjoined that each vicar appointed should be *dignus et aptus ad ecclesie servitium*. The appointing body was still to be the Dean and Chapter, or, if the dean should be absent for more than a month, the chapter, provided that not fewer than five canons were present, and that they were unanimous. In addition to the attendance at the services that had been determined by Walter de Gray's statutes, vicars were ordered to attend processions, on pain of being brought before the chapter and fined.

The singing-table had from the first been drawn up by the sub-chanter. It contained the rota of choir duty. Occasionally vicars had been known to

¹ See page 161 for his other duties.

refuse to perform their singing or their reading in the service. This was sternly forbidden.

An amusing regulation found in the statutes of 1290 dealt with the outdoor dress of the vicars, which was ordered to be "an honest habit, one that befits a priest, at all events under a closed dress and not with hood flung back, nor with shoes adorned, beaked, or otherwise conspicuous."

According to the Bursars' Accounts the canons were, on the whole, regular in their payments into the vicars' funds of 40s. a year for each vicar. Yet the statutes of 1291 repeat this injunction, and insist again that every canon shall have his own vicar. Amongst the records of the vicars-choral there is only one case of the necessity of taking proceedings for the recovery of fees due to a vicar from his canon. It is on a roll seven feet long; and the defaulting canon was Richard de Cestria, Prebendary of Given-dale, who died in 1346. In that year the sub-chanter and the vicars-choral sued his executors for the sum of £9, being the amount of fees that he had omitted to pay to the college for $4\frac{1}{2}$ years before his death. The vicars, after quoting at length the original foundation grant of Walter de Gray and other authorities in their pleading before the Dean and Chapter, had the satisfaction of winning their case and receiving from Richard de Cestria's executors the sum of £10. The right of the vicars to deputize for the canons and to receive their lawful fees was not again challenged.

The only other references to the vicars in the statutes before the Reformation are in those of 1294. At a fine of a penny a day empty chattering was forbidden. Those who were the cause of either laughter or insolence were to be left for the judgment, presumably, of the Dean and Chapter. The vicars were to repeat "histories"—of what kind is not stated; and those who failed to do so might be

expelled by the Dean and Chapter. Quite frequently, the vicars "suspended" from duty certain refractory members of their college, that is, they expelled them in all seriousness, and then, on the repentance of the offenders, reinstated them. Any vicar who left the city without leave from the dean or from some other person in authority was to lose eight days' commons.

While the duty of the vicars-choral to the Dean and Chapter and the means employed to proceed against troublesome vicars are clear from the statutes, the domestic life of the college is made clear from the documents which have survived. These consist of :

- (1) Nearly 200 conveyances of property, of dates from the middle of the twelfth century to the middle of the fifteenth. Much of this property was in York in the form of land and houses ; some was outside York in the diocese. At the Reformation the gross value of the lands, etc., belonging to the college was £275 16s. 4d., and the net value £215 15s. 5½d.
- (2) Letters Patent under the Great Seals of Edward I, Edward II, Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, most of which relate to lands granted to avoid the penalties of mortmain, generally with the condition of a chantry attached.
- (3) Grants of livings to the college, usually in response to petitions to the Dean and Chapter from the vicars as their fortunes diminished. The college still acts as patron (in one case part patron, with two turns out of three, owing to subsequent union with another benefice) of the four benefices granted to it during the Middle Ages—Huntington, near York (1354) ; St. Sampson's, York (1394) ; Ferry Fryston near Pontefract (1331) ; and Nether Wallop,

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Hants (*circa* 1460). The original grants of these livings have come to light, with the exception of Ferry Fryston. The Nether Wallop series is an exceptionally fine series, seventeen in number. Richard III intended to confer on the college the patronage of the benefice of Cottingham, near Hull, but his reign came to an end before the negotiations were completed.

- (4) A large number of rolls containing the accounts of the officials of the college—the custos or keeper, the bursar, the chamberlain, the brasiator, the repairer. Some of these rolls continue to the middle of the seventeenth century.
- (5) The statute and minute book of the college. The first copy of the earliest statutes has disappeared. The present copy, which was bound in the year 1749, contains the statutes approved of by Henry V in 1417, and the minutes of proceedings of the college from the year 1419 to recent times. It ends with the signatures, on their admission to the college, of every vicar-choral from 1681 to the present day.

These documents present the college mostly as a business institution. Twice a year, at the two usual terms of Pentecost and St. Martin the Bishop in winter, the chamberlain received the rents due to the college. From his rolls, and from the rent rolls which formed part of his rolls, it is known that in the middle of the fourteenth century the income of the college from the rents of houses which varied in number from 136 to 162 was from £32 16s. 11*d.* (in 1350, after the Black Death) to £59 8s. 9*d.* (probably in 1342).

The responsibility for the repair of houses was shared by the chamberlain and the repairer. The

latter's rolls, though a good series dated from 1383 to 1648, have not the interest of the other rolls. There was generally, but not always, a deficit shown by these rolls. The income consisted of rents from the rectory of Huntington and various other rents.

The chief duty of the brasiator was to brew the beer. In the year 1399-1400 the purchases of malt and barley amounted to 232 quarters; in the year 1416-1417, to 149 quarters; in the year 1478-1479, to 84 quarters; in the year 1533-1534, to 60 quarters. The reduction in the quantities was due not to a decrease in the amount consumed per head on the average, but to a diminution in the number of vicars-choral. The brasiator received from every vicar on his admission to the college the sum of 13s. 4d. and an extra 2s. 6d. with which to purchase a spoon (*coclear*), as directed by the statutes of the college. He was also responsible for repairs and renewals in the kitchen. The accounts that have survived are of various dates from 1393 to 1563.

The bursar, whose rolls cover the period from 1369 to 1618, was the chief financial official in that he had direct monetary dealings with his colleagues. He received from the canons their half-yearly payments to the vicars, and from the Dean and Chapter an annual payment of £23 6s. 8d. from the benefice of Burton Pidsey (Lincs.), and fees of 1s. 4d. and 8d. a year for the services of the vicars at the high altar and at other altars respectively as assistants to the canons. It also fell to him to pay the vicars their share, less fines, of the money due to them for their services as the deputies of the canons. From these lists of payments a register of members of the college has been made. The bursar handed on to his brethren the chantry and obit fees due to them. This amount rarely fell short of £20 a year, from twenty-five to thirty-nine chantries and an equal number of obits. The bursar paid to the door-

keeper or porter of the college his half-yearly wage of 6s. 8d. After the Reformation, his work was rendered less onerous from the fact that the chantries and obits had been dissolved, and from the gradual diminution in the number of vicars, which towards the end of the sixteenth century fell to nine or ten.

The first roll of a sub-chanter is dated 1453; the last 1608. The receipts of the head of the college were miscellaneous; he seems to have been the residuary financial official of the college. Such items as expenditure on numerous lawsuits, journeys to London and nearer places such as those districts in the diocese of York in which the college held property, receipts from fines inflicted on members of the college, dues to the king, and the like, are found recorded in the sub-chanter's accounts. The balance on his accounts, as on those of the bursar, was divided each year equally amongst the vicars.

In addition to the above rolls, others of a miscellaneous nature have been preserved, such as the accounts of the estates owned by the college in connection with the parishes of Huntington, Ferry Fryston, and St. Sampson's, York. These, however, are not very numerous.

The statute and minute book cannot receive detailed notice here. It reveals to us a community life which, if it did not pass without regrettable incidents, yet was jealous of its own reputation and zealous to punish those of its members who injured that reputation. In places it hints at disputes with the Dean and Chapter, but in later times it tends to become a mere record of admissions and institutions. There can be few more interesting books of its kind in existence.

No account of the college is complete which does not include a notice of the Bedern chapel.¹ For

¹ See a paper by the present writer in Part 106 of the "Yorkshire Archæological Journal."

nearly a century after the foundation of the college there are no notices of a college chapel. In the year 1348 one was founded by Thomas de Otteley and William de Cotingham,¹ and consecrated by Hugh, Archbishop of Damascus, under a commission from Archbishop William la Zouche. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Katherine.

From its present appearance the chapel, the place in which elections of sub-chanters and vicars-choral took place, and still take place, had room for only one altar. There was in it, however, at the one and only altar, a chantry, founded in the year 1348 for the souls of the founders. The Blessed Sacrament was placed on the altar before a lamp which was kept burning continually in consideration of two annual rents of 6s. and 8s. from houses in York left by Robert Swetmouth.

The chapel still possesses its original font, at which baptisms took place of children born in the Bedern after the vicars ceased to reside in their houses. The only registers of such baptisms that have survived begin in 1682 and end in 1868. In the latter year the Bedern district was included in a parish.

Torre gives a detailed account of the stained glass that adorned the chapel. There were six windows, three on the north and three on the south. There was neither east nor west window, as the chapel was enclosed on these two sides. The windows on the north side contained :

- (1) Two lights. A shield in the tracery ; below, the Nativity and the Holy Family.
- (2) Three lights. Two shields ; the Betrayal, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection.
- (3) Three lights. Two shields ; the Ascension,

¹ Both vicars-choral, according to Torre (col. 1699).

the Descent of the Holy Ghost, and the Last Judgment.

On the south side :

- (1) Three lights. In the tracery, one shield ; below, St. Katherine (*a*) at prayer, (*b*) tortured, (*c*) received into Heaven.
- (2) Three lights. Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin enthroned ; below, the Assumption, the Raising of the Widow's son at Nain, and the Annunciation.
- (3) Three lights. Two shields ; white glass in the first light, a shield in the second, and the Descent from the Cross in the third.

All this glass has now disappeared from the chapel. A little of it can be traced in the Minster glass.

At the Dissolution, the college narrowly escaped destruction, for it was sold in 1548 for the sum of £1924 10s. 1*d*. The Dean and Chapter, however, intervened, and the college was saved. At the chantry survey, the goods of the college were valued at £13 0s. 4*d*., and the plate at £18 9s. 4*d*. The number of vicars-choral had diminished from thirty-six to a number which, as has been mentioned above, was sometimes only nine at the end of the sixteenth century. The practice had begun by then of the employment of singing-men by the vicars. Two or three were employed at a time. Occasionally these singing-men attempted to assert an imagined right to live in the houses of the vicars in the Bedern. This claim was always resisted. The statutes of the cathedral after the time of Henry VIII, who enjoined that the old custom of feeding at the canon's table should cease in favour of a payment to the college by the residentiaries of £6 13s. 4*d*. a year, do not notice the vicars. The injunctions, however, imposed

duties on them—they must attend all divinity lectures in the cathedral, and be examined in the subject of them, they must be twenty in number, and they must pay a fine of 1*d.* for every occasion when they are late for service (i.e. when they arrive after the end of the first Psalm), or 2*d.* when they are absent (1*d.* in the case of “the Kinges ma^{ties} Letany”), the fines “to be ymployd in the reparacions of there house, or the commen utensilles of the same”; those under the age of forty are to learn by heart “every weke one chapiter of Sancte Poule’s Epistles in Latyne, after the translation of Erasmus,” and to be examined therein; all are to receive the Holy Communion every Sunday and at other times also; and every day, “so many of them as shall go to commons together,” they shall “daylie by course ymmediatlie after dynner, rede one chapiter of the four Evangelistes, and every day after supper shall rede one chapiter of th’ Acts of the Apostles, or the Canonically Epistles,” “and in like manner shall the vicars do whiche are married and kepe there owne tables, that both there wiefes and servantes may here the same.” Grindal’s injunctions add nothing to those of Holgate. Archbishop Neile inquired whether the number of vicars was the full number, whether they “doe behave themselves duetifully and painefully,” whether they read and hear the word of God and sermons, whether their statutes are duly observed, and whether by holding other cures they neglect their duty to the cathedral. Archbishop Frewen ordered “that the subchanter and vicars-chorall shall provide a chest . . . wherof one key to be kept by the precentor and the other three by the sub-chanter and the senior vicars of the said church.” In Dolben’s injunction the Dean and Chapter are bidden “to make choice of three of the vicars, such as they shall judge most fitt, and allowing them a competent reward for there paines, and appoint them to waite

by turnes two houres every morning and two houres every afternoone, keeping the library open all that time, and taking care that the bookes be not purloined or damnified by such as shall pretend there to study." Archbishop Harcourt repeated this injunction that one of the vicars should be appointed to have charge of the library.

In the year 1868 the Ecclesiastical Commission assumed the control of the property of the vicars, by which time the full number was fixed at five, presumably one for each of the canons-residentiary, and one for the dean. The corporate nature of the college and the exercise of the patronage are still continued, though in view of the Cathedrals Commission it is impossible to say what the future has in store. The college has had, however, a long and, on the whole, honourable and useful career, and it would be difficult to estimate the debt owed to it by the Dean and Chapter.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ZOUCHE CHAPEL AND THE MUNIMENTS

THE ground-plan of York Minster is a simple cross, with only one cross arm ; but on both north and south sides there are additions. The north side is added to by the right-angled vestibule passage and the octagonal chapter house. On the south side, there are buildings on the east and west sides of the south transept. Those on the west side, a portion of which was built for the library early in the fifteenth century, are used for vestries and for the registry and the muniment room of the archbishops ; those on the east side form the consistory court, the treasury, and the Zouche chapel. All were built during the fourteenth century.

The Zouche chapel is the easternmost of the additions on the south side. It is entered by a large double door in the south aisle of the choir.

The history of this chapel, which is now used as a vestry by the dean and canons, as a meeting-place of the Dean and Chapter after the chapter meetings have been formally opened in the chapter house, and as the muniment room of the Dean and Chapter, is very interesting. William la Zouche, Dean of York, succeeded William de Melton as archbishop in the year 1342, after a vacancy in the see of two years owing to a disputed election. He was moved to make his will, by the scourge of the Black Death, on June 28, 1349. In it he bequeathed the sum of 300 marks for the foundation of a chantry in the cathedral and for the support of two chantry priests, who were to be attached to the altar in the chapel dedicated to God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the Saints,

especially Mary Magdalene and Martha. The Dean and Chapter replied on April 11, 1350 (the year is not given, but it may be presumed to be 1350), with permission to the archbishop to erect a chapel on the south side of the choir, which should be entered by one or two doors placed in arches for the construction of which the south wall of the choir—Roger's twelfth-century choir—was allowed to be pierced. Zouche died on July 19, 1352, probably, as he was buried before the altar of St. Edmund, King and Confessor, in the nave, before the chapel was finished.

Within a quarter of a century of the completion of the chapel the western half of the choir was rebuilt. The consequent alteration of the position of the south wall of the choir, which was the north wall of the chapel, shortened the chapel from north to south, as may be seen on the outside from the position of the eastern gable with respect to the south wall of the choir. A further displacement was necessary, for the east window of the chapel had to be taken out and replaced farther south to make room for one of the buttresses of this wall. Other alterations may have taken place which are not now apparent—probably in the length of the chapel from east to west. Certainly the vaulted ceiling and the responds of Purbeck marble were rebuilt. The ceiling and the vaulting appear at first sight to be disappointing, but a study of the details will show that this judgment is a hasty one; for some of the bosses contain exquisite carving especially the one of two grotesque animals with protruding tongues.

The chapel is lighted by three windows besides that of the recess opposite the door. In front of the plain glass has been placed a quantity of coloured glass which was left out of the De Mauley window in the nave (the middle window in the south aisle) when that window was restored some years ago.

The history of the doings of the Dean and Chapter, and of their relations with kings, popes, archbishops, individuals on their own body, vicars-choral, chantry priests, and other members of their staff, together with their tenants and the citizens of York, is contained in a variety of documents, only a few of which can be noted here. These documents are kept in large cupboards in the Zouche chapel. The diocesan documents, such as the archbishops' registers, are housed in the Diocesan Registry, a building situated in the corner between the south wall of the nave and the west wall of the south transept.

The chief written authorities for the building of the cathedral are the "Fabric and the Chamberlains' Rolls." The Fabric Rolls cover only the last century or so of the history of the present building. They are by no means complete. The earliest belongs to the period between 1350 and 1360—that is, the period when the nave roof was being completed. The next is assigned to the year 1371, when the Lady chapel was almost finished. Then there is a gap till the year 1399. Thereafter the rolls continue in a more or less regular succession, with gaps, until the Reformation. Those after the Reformation are of far less interest to the student of the building than those before.

Included in the Surtees Society's volume on the Fabric Rolls¹ are a number of transcripts of other documents of various dates between 1165 and 1704. Amongst them are extracts from the rolls of the chamberlains, which were written half-yearly at the two usual terms of Pentecost and St. Martin the Bishop in winter. The earliest may be dated *circa* 1340. Those between 1370 and 1400 are numerous. Very few that belong to the fifteenth century have been preserved. Those that came after are naturally of less interest. Other documents that illustrate the history of the fabric are indulgences (copies

¹ See Appendix VII.

found amongst the records of the Dean and Chapter as well as in the archiepiscopal registers), wills (see below), indentures and inventories. These are found in various places amongst the papers of the Dean and Chapter, and some are of the greatest interest.

Yet, in spite of what seems at first sight to be a splendid collection of mediaeval documents relating to the fabric, not only are there many gaps in them, but also many have lost their dates, and for the building of the transepts, the nave, the chapter house, and the vestibule, the written records leave something to be desired. References to the windows are few and far between; and the indentures for the glazing of the west window and its neighbours on the west wall in the north and south aisles of the nave and of the east window have been lost.

The volumes of "Acts of the Dean and Chapter" cover the period from the year 1333 to the present day, and do so with very few gaps, all in the fourteenth century. A few isolated acts are found which belong to the period between 1290 and 1300 in a volume of inventories of ornaments of the chantries made about the middle of the fourteenth century. Two books of the greatest interest, however, contain, amongst other things, matters relating to the history of the cathedral from the time of its new foundation by Archbishop Thomas at the end of the eleventh century. These are "Magnum Registrum Album" and "Liber Domesday."¹ The Acts of the Dean and Chapter are, on the whole, little more than a record of institutions to the dignities and other canonries in the cathedral (which were filled either by the dean's appointment or by chapter election until the year 1841), vicariates in the choir, benefices in the gift of the Dean and Chapter, and chantry chaplaincies in the Minster and in parish churches in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter. Lists

¹ See pages 172-174.

of such as are already in existence can easily be checked from these Acts. Amongst the earliest volumes there are also certain wills. An index exists to practically every volume.

"Visitation Books" for the period from 1409 to 1550 are in existence. They contain the results of surveys made of parishes in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter and of prebends attached to the cathedral. A special volume dated 1523 gives an inventory of the ornaments of the churches.

There are three large registers of "Wills proved in the Registry of the Dean and Chapter" from 1321 to 1557. These volumes have been indexed, though not quite satisfactorily. The index of the last of the three has been largely destroyed, apparently by fire.

The "Magnum Registrum Album" is a large volume bound in boards, completely covered at one time with leather. Its four parts are prefaced by two groups of unnumbered folios, one of eleven and the other of ten. The former is headed: *Abreviatio ex libro dicto Doomesday in scaccario Westm.* These folios, which are in an early hand, probably of the early thirteenth century, give details of the lands held in Yorkshire by the king, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and a long list of other nobles and tenants-in-chief. The land is measured in carucates and bovates. Then follow ten folios, which contain a table of contents and a list of chantries in the Minster and in other churches. An instructive document on the second side of the tenth folio consists of a memorandum that Pope Gregory the Great ordained two metropolitan sees in England, Canterbury and York, "equal in honour and dignity, except that the see first ordained ranks first in honour."

The first part of the register contains seventy-four folios. It begins with historical matter written by Hugh the Chantor, relating to the early events in the life of the cathedral and in the lives of four

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archbishops, which was printed in the Rolls Series (Vol. II, Raine's "Historians of the Church of York," pages 98 to 227).

The second part, in one hundred folios, contains transcripts of early charters from William II, Henry I, Stephen, Henry II, and Henry III, and, amongst papal bulls, that of Pope Honorius decreeing the canonization of St. William of York (1226).

The third part, also in one hundred folios, consists of charters from Stephen and Henry I, and ordinations of a few chantries and churches, most important amongst which is that of the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Angels at York, granted by Sewal de Bovil, archbishop (1256 to 1258).

The fourth part, in 118 folios, contains copies of charters from John and Henry III, a long account, covering six folios, of a quarrel in the year 1275 between the Dean and Chapter and the citizens of York, and various matters relating to chantries and churches.

The whole of the folios which comprise these four parts are written in a hand of about the middle of the fourteenth century ; and, seeing that the chapter Acts are not continuous till almost the middle of this century, are of the greatest value in supplying the deficiency.

"Liber Domesday" contains 156 folios. Its title is misleading to those who suppose that the word "Domesday" refers only to the famous list of the year 1086. The word was used generally for any authoritative survey of land which was the basis of assessments for taxation. There is a full index at the beginning of this volume which was made by Charles Fairfax early in the eighteenth century. From it can be seen at a glance the contents of the volume ; and from it can be appreciated the fact that, with the "Magnum Registrum Album," which was written about the same time, this book helps to

supply the early deficiency of the chapter Acts. It contains copies of charters from William I (on the subject of the Hospital of St. Leonard in York), Henry II, Henry III, Edward I, and Edward III, bulls from Popes Celestine II and Innocent III, chantry ordinations (a most valuable list) and ordinations of vicarages (another most valuable list), descriptions of the extent of over twenty of the prebendal estates, and an account of the privileges, rights, and customs of the Church in York.

A very interesting series of rolls and books are those which relate to *the Liberty of St. Peter*, as the district was called which was under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter. The account or jurisdiction rolls of the Liberty are fairly complete from 1490 to 1790; after 1790 they are succeeded by the court books—of civil jurisdiction from 1809 to 1838, and of criminal jurisdiction from 1790 to 1834. A Commission of the Peace for the Liberty was appointed in 1837, when the special jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter came to an end, and their jail, known as St. Peter's Prison, was demolished.

A bill dated December 24, 1692, has survived which recalls some of the incidents connected with the punishment of crime in the past. John Bowlin, a carpenter, had been employed for certain work, for which the following was his bill :

Inprimis for makeing of a paire of stocks and placing them in the Minster Yard	01 - 2 - 6
Item for makeing a Pillory for the same place	01 - 12 - 0
Item for makeing one paire of Gal- lowes standing in the Horse Fair	05 - 0 - 0
Summa ..	<hr/> 07 - 14 - 6 <hr/>

In addition to the above are the copies of the statutes and the injunctions of various dates, of which an account was given in Chapter XI. There are also a large number of early deeds and charters of all dates from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, which deal with a variety of subjects.

No account of the manuscripts in the possession of the Dean and Chapter is complete which does not mention those of the great York antiquary, James Torre, at the end of the seventeenth century. All the eighteenth-century accounts of York Minster were based on Torre. Though as an observer of architecture and stained glass he had his limitations, his work shows an industry and a devotion that are nothing short of amazing. His account of the Minster itself is most valuable ; for he saw it before it was devastated by fire. His account of the windows has already been referred to.¹ His energy, however, was by no means exhausted with this. In a large volume, written in four columns to each page, he has made short extracts from hundreds of wills, Acts of chapter, "Liber Domesday," "Magnum Registrum Album," the *sede vacante* registers, and the archiepiscopal registers. To the whole, in another volume, he made an index. Two further volumes contain (1) notes on various churches all over the country and (2) the *modus creandi* in the case of archbishops, bishops, and various secular and regular clergy. The writing is in many cases crabbed and faded, and the paper on which he wrote is thin and rough ; but he laid all students of the history of York Minster under a debt of gratitude which can never be repaid.

One matter of very special interest to lovers of old London refers to the old Serjeants' Inn, in Fleet Street. The connexion of the Dean and Chapter of York with

¹ See Chapter X.

the Inn began in the year 1409, when the Inn came into their possession. In 1686 the Inn was burnt in the Great Fire of London. After some litigation (for the relations between the tenants and the landlords were not of the best), the lease of the Inn was renewed to the serjeants in 1670 for a period of sixty years; and six years later a new chapel, on the site of the old chapel, which had been consecrated by the then Archbishop of Canterbury in 1606, was consecrated. Finally, after a continuation of the acrimonious disputes which seem to have marked the relations of the serjeants with the Dean and Chapter, the property was sold in the year 1839.

In addition to the foregoing, the muniments comprise much matter of interest to students of ecclesiastical history—*sede vacante* papers and registers of various dates, reports on the fabric of the Minster and its repair, reports of proceedings between the Dean and Chapter and their officials (choir, vergers, police, etc.), miscellaneous papers relating to schools (St. Peter's School and Archbishop Holgate's School, York, and many other grammar schools in Yorkshire), chapter files of presentations to livings, marriage bonds and affidavits, transcripts of parish registers of a large number of parishes, terriers of property in several parishes, inventories of the goods of persons who lived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, mediaeval court books of cases in which the Dean and Chapter were concerned, inventories of various dates, account books and a chartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, a portion of an early sixteenth-century register of St. Mary's Abbey, York, lists of capitular and prebendal estates, early deeds and charters from the middle of the twelfth century onwards, leases and rentals from the sixteenth century onwards, registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials that took place in the Minster from the year 1634 onwards, and clergy subscription books

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to the Thirty-nine Articles, with hundreds of signatures from 1571 onwards. A good catalogue of these is in existence, and they can all be consulted by arrangement with the chapter clerk or the librarian.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERNAL PASSAGES

YORK Minster has seven angle doors which give access to spiral staircases which lead to the upper portions of the building—in the north-west and south-west corners of the nave, in the north-east and south-east corners of the eastern arm, in the north-west corner of the north transept, in the south-west corner of the south transept, and in the chapter house.

(1) The two doors in the corners of the nave lead to spiral staircases which give access to the triforium on each side, to the two bell towers, and to the roofs of the aisles. These staircases are connected with each other by two passages. One leads over the sills of the aisle windows and the sill of the west window; the other to the parapet over the west window. The triforium passage on each side is blocked at the east end by the piers of the lantern tower.

(2) The door in the south wall of the west aisle of the south transept leads to a staircase which brings the visitor to the outside of the building at the south-west corner of the central portion of the roof of the south transept. The parapet leads to a door in the lantern tower, by which access is gained to a staircase which connects with the leads of the tower. Less than half-way up this staircase is a door which admits to the passage round the tower on the inside above the large ground arches.

(3) A door in the north-west corner of the north transept admits to a staircase which leads to the triforium and clerestory passages on the westside, and to the similar passages on the east side. The triforium passage is closed at the nave end. The clerestory passage goes all round the transept, from pier to pier of the lantern tower, by way of the sills of the five lancet lights over the Five Sisters window, from which a magnificent view

of the whole expanse of the transepts can be obtained—a view almost without the equal of its kind.

The way to the triforium passage on the east side of the north transept is over the Five Sisters window and down a spiral staircase. From the triforium passage near the north-east pier of the lantern tower access can be gained to the triforium passage of the choir, which, unlike that of the nave, has a parapet. This passage runs the whole length of the eastern arm, across the bay and over the arch in front of the St. William window. At its east end, a staircase leads to the gallery in front of the east window. There is access to the same gallery through the north-east and the south-east angle doors, which also enable the leads of the roofs of the four eastern bays of the north and south aisles to be reached. From the gallery, the triforium passage on the south side of the eastern arm is easily reached, and, at its western end, the triforium passage on the east side of the south transept. At the south of this passage a staircase leads to the sills of the south windows of the south wall of this aisle. As there is no door here, the staircase stops at this level, and it is necessary to climb to the floor by means of a ladder.

(4) Access to the clerestory and triforium passages on the west side of the south transept is by the staircase in the south-western corner which leads also to the top of the lantern tower. These passages can also be reached from the vaulting chamber of the south aisle of the nave.

(5) There is a passage inside the building in front of the four western clerestory windows on each side of the choir. Access to this is from the outside of the roofs of the aisles. These passages are never used except by workmen.

(6) The parapet above the east window is reached from either of the doors in the north-east and south-east corners of the eastern arm.

(7) The door in the chapter house porch gives access to the passage under the windows, the chamber above the vestibule, and the parapets.

These internal passages are not open to the public, except the one by which the lantern tower may be climbed.

APPENDIX II

THE MEDIAEVAL CHANTRY CHAPELS

YORK Minster does not possess a single chantry chapel as it was left at the Reformation. Only by a vigorous effort of the imagination is it possible to picture the appearance of the Minster with its numerous small chapels. Here and there are the remains of piscinæ. Nearly all the wooden screens that enclosed some of the chapels have disappeared, and not a trace is left of any stone chapels. In the eastern arm the only places where they were to be seen before the Reformation were against the east wall, where there were five, and in both aisles over and near the choir stalls. It is not known whether the Reformation left the framework of any of the chapels intact. In any case, the fires of 1829 and 1841 would have destroyed all the chantry chapels in both nave and choir. The old wooden screens that are still to be seen in the east aisles of both transepts may have been erected as chapel screens and may be *in situ*. The fragments of doors in the vestibule may have been when they were in use doors of small chapels. So it is that many cathedrals and other large churches easily surpass York in this respect.

The most painstaking and thorough search has failed to reveal the positions of many of the chantry chapels. Hardly any deeds of either foundation or collation mention the places of the respective altars. The returns made by the commissioners of Henry VIII in 1546 give particulars of over forty foundations that were then in existence, and the names of just over thirty altars. Some altars were dedicated to more than one saint. Several chantries were connected with one and the same altar. Willis quotes a document which shows that in 1364 there were fewer than twenty chantry altars then in existence. As is well known, the number of chantries grew everywhere during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and an increase to almost

double the number of altars between 1364 and the Reformation, as at York, was by no means uncommon. It is to be regretted not only that two destructive fires wiped out most of what remained of the chantry chapels, but also that so little is known about their positions.

The first chantry in the present building was founded in 1241; the last in 1507. The earliest foundation that can be met with may be ascribed to *circa* 1230. The "Acts of the Dean and Chapter,"¹ "Domesday Book,"² and the "Yorkshire Chantry Surveys,"³ are the authorities which have been consulted for the list of chantries which is given in this Appendix.

Of more modern writers on York Minster, only Browne gives any space to the subject of the chantry foundations. He specifies all his authorities, but only those in "Domesday Book" could be verified, his reference numbers to the chapter Acts being incomprehensible. The list of the Yorkshire Chantry Surveys had not been transcribed in his time. In this, as in all other matters, Browne did painstaking work of a kind that for its thoroughness deserves every praise; his conclusions, however, have not commended themselves to modern scholars. It is strange that the chantry foundations at York have been so scantily noticed. It is true that for a long time—over two centuries—the chaplains at the chantry altars were always chosen from amongst the vicars-choral, whose records contain innumerable references to their activities in this direction. For example, to take a typical year, 1379, the vicars-choral celebrated obits for 45 persons, and chantry masses for eight more, from Pentecost to Martinmas. But, owing to the great increase during the fifteenth century in the number of such foundations, it was found necessary in 1461 to found a special college of twenty-four chantry priests, known as St. William's College. The college existed as a foundation for less

¹ Referred to in footnotes to table (pp. 184-9) as "C.A." numbers of the volumes. They are as follows: I (1343-1368); II (1352-1426); III (1427-1504); IV (1504-1543).

² Referred to in table (pp. 184-9) as "D.B.", with the number of the folio.

³ "The Yorkshire Chantry Surveys" have been published by the Surtees Society. See Bibliography in Appendix VI.

than ninety years and was responsible for over eighty chantries in the Minster and elsewhere; but, in an altered form, it still stands now happily in a state of excellent preservation, and it is used for meetings of Convocation of York and the York Diocesan Conference, and for a large number of other meetings, for religious and other objects. The large hall, which was restored in memory of William Dalrymple Maclagan, Archbishop of York from 1891 to 1908, is one of the finest halls of its kind in this country.

In the following table the main facts about the chantry altars and the earliest recorded foundations thereat, with dates and, where possible, positions are given. The altars are in alphabetical order :

ALTAR	DATE	POSITION	FOUNDERS	BENEFICIARIES
SS. Agatha, Lucy, and Scholastica	1263 or just after ¹	On south side of crypt	Roger de Punchardon, Knight	Founder
SS. Agnes, Cecilia, and Petronilla	—	On north side of crypt	—	—
All Saints	1413	East end of south aisle of eastern arm	Henry Bowet, Archbishop (1408-1423)	Founder
St. Andrew	1249	Near St. William's tomb, in nave	John Romanus, Archdeacon of Richmond	Founder, Richard I, and others
St. Blasius	1263	Under the clock in south transept	John de Roderham	Founder, and Robert de Wyntonia, Precentor about 1250
St. Christopher ..	1426	—	Gild of St. Christopher ²	Richard II and his queen, Anne
St. Crux	1307	Behind choir stalls on south side near door of the "new vestibule"	—	William Hamelton, Dean about 1300
St. Crux, St. Anne, and St. Anthony	1448	—	Exors. of William Felter, Dean (1437-1454)	Henry VI, Margaret of Anjou, and founder

¹ From names of witnesses.² The hall of this gild was on the site of the present Guildhall, York, which was built as the hall of the united Gilds of St. Christopher and St. George.

ALTAR	DATE	POSITION	FOUNDERS	BENEFICIARIES
St. Cuthbert.. ..	1426	—	Exors. of Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham (1388-1406)	Walter Skirlaw
St. Cuthbert and St. Andrew	—	—	—	John Romanus, Archbishop (1286-1296)
St. Edmund the King	1326	—	Exors. of Robert de Pynchebek	Robert de Pynchebek
St. Edward the King	1291	—	Henry de Milford	William de Langton, Dean (1263-1279)
St. Frideswide ..	1490	—	—	Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, and Thomas Pereson, Sub-Dean (1484-1490)
St. Gregory	—	—	—	Simon de Evesham, Archdeacon of Richmond
Holy Innocents ..	1354 ¹	—	William de Ferriby, Canon	Edward III, John de Thoresby, Archbishop (1352-1373), and founder

¹ The "Chantry Surveys" have the date 1330, and the founders, William Melton, archbishop (1304-1342) and others. Melton founded a chantry for his own soul in the chapel of St. James in the church of Melton, near Howden.

ALTAR	DATE	POSITION	FOUNDERS	BENEFICIARIES
Holy Trinity ¹ ..	—	—	—	—
Holy Trinity, Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Anne, and All Saints	1466	—	—	John Bermyngham, Treasurer (1432-1457) ²
St. James ³	1340 ⁴	?	Exors. of Nicholas de Hugate	Nicholas de Hugate
Jesus and B.V.M. ..	1507	In the Lady Chapel ⁵	Henry Carnebull	Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Henry Prince of Wales, Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop (1480-1500), and the founder
St. John the Baptist ⁶	1368	?	John de Stayngate, saddler	Founder and his family

¹ Nicholas Ferriby admitted to the chaplaincy in 1382.

² Mentioned in one list ("Inventories of the Chantries," p. 32), as the Altar of St. James and St. Katherine.

³ North of the Lady chapel altar, from which position Rotherham's tomb was removed a few years ago to the north transept (see pages 50 and 93). ⁴F. 40 b, "Inventory of the Ornaments of the Chantries," gives a foundation here for the brothers Langton (Dean and Archdeacon of York). C.A., iv, f. 49b, in the record of a collation to the chaplaincy, gives the altar as St. John the Baptist and St. Chad. The figure of St. Chad is in a window in the north aisle of the choir.

⁵ Builder of the south-west tower. ⁶D.B., f. 71, has 1357.

ALTAR	DATE	POSITION	FOUNDERS	BENEFICIARIES
St. John of Beverley ¹	1304	?	Richard de Taunton	Founder, John de Crauncumb, and Richard and Joanna, father and mother of the founder
St. John the Evangelist	1272	South of the Lady Chapel	Abbot and Convent of Byland	Simon de Evesham, Archdeacon of Richmond
St. Katherine ..	<i>Circa</i> 1285	In crypt ..	Gilbert de Sarum, Sub-Dean (1266-1281)	Founder
St. Laurence.. ..	1247	—	Laurence de Lincoln, Archdeacon of York (1239-1249 ?)	—
Blessed Virgin Mary	—	In crypt ..	—	—
Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist ²	1273	In south transept ..	Thomas de Ludham, Canon of York	Founder, Godfrey de Ludham, Archbishop (1258-1265) and others
Blessed Virgin Mary	—	Present Lady Chapel	John Thoresby, Archbishop (1352-1373)	Founder, and Henry de Percy and Mary, his wife

¹ The figure of St. John of Beverley is in a window in the north aisle of the choir. There is a record of the foundation of a chantry at this altar for the soul of Roger de Insula, dean before 1235.

² The figures of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist are in two lancet lights in the southernmost bay in the east aisle. The "Inventory of the Ornaments of the Chantries" gives the position as *iuxta cameram sacrislarum*. The vestries may have been near this spot.

ALTAR	DATE	POSITION	FOUNDERS	BENEFICIARIES
St. Mary Magdalene	<i>Circa</i> 1240	In crypt ..	Exors, of Godfrey de Norvico, Dean (1235-1240)	Godfrey de Norvico
St. Michael	1241	South transept ..	Walter de Gray, Archbishop (1215-1255)	Founder, and all the Archbishops and Canons of York
St. Nicholas	1346	North transept ¹ ..	Richard de Cestria, Canon (1314-1346)	William de Greenfield, Archbishop (1305-1314), Vivian and Margaret, father and mother of founder, and all Archbishops and Canons of York
St. Nicholas and St. Gregory	<i>Circa</i> 1240	In crypt ..	John Lumbard ..	Founder
St. Paulinus and St. Chad ²	1329	?	John Burton ..	—

¹ South of the chapel now in use and called the St. Nicholas Chapel. The figure of St. Nicholas is in a lancet light above.

² No record either of this foundation or of collations to it can be found in the documents. The figures of both saints are in window in the north aisle of the choir. The "Chantry Surveys" give the facts quoted above.

ALTAR	DATE	POSITION	FOUNDERS	BENEFICIARIES
St. Saviour	1475 (D.B. f. 150 b)	"In loft of south side" ¹	Richard Andrew, Dean (1454-1477), and others	Founders
St. Stephen	1273	East end of north aisle of Lady chapel	William de Langton, Dean of York (1263- 1279)	Founder, and Walter de Gray, Archbishop (1215-1255)
St. Thomas	1376	?	Maud Alnwyk	Prince Edward, Queen Philippa, and founder
St. Thomas of Canter- bury	About 1283	?	?	Thomas Whittyn, or Whyten, Canon (1260- 1283) and Archdeacon (1275-1283) of York
St. Wilfrid	1419	?	?	William Cawood, Canon of York (1408-1419)
St. William	1230	In nave, over his tomb ²	Elias Bernard, Canon of York	?

¹ Probably this means a "loft" or platform, over the canons' stalls in the choir. There are three on each side, one in each bay. D.B., f. 150b, has: "ex parte australi ecclesie."

² See page 200.

³ D.B. f. 74, gives another foundation, in 1366, by John de Cotyngham, Rector of North Cave, for himself, King Edward III, and Thomas de la Mare, Canon of York.

APPENDIX III

THE TREASURY

THE chamber immediately on the west of the Zouche chapel, with which it is connected by means of a massive door, is known, from its contents, as the Treasury. It is the middle one of three; and it and the consistory court appear to have been built at the time when the Zouche chapel was altered to make room for the present choir.¹ While the Zouche chapel is used as a vestry by the dean and the canons, and as the meeting-place of the Dean and Chapter after the statutory meetings have been formally opened in the chapter house, the treasury is used as a robing-room by the archbishop and other bishops, and as a vestry-chamber by those who are about to celebrate the Holy Communion, and the consistory court is the daily vestry of the sub-chanter and the vicars-choral.

The treasury is lighted on the south side by two two-light Early Perpendicular windows which are glazed with plain white glass in quarries. The roof, a stone barrel vault, has large semicircular ribs at intervals, and is of simple design. It is not known what the original purpose of the treasury and the consistory court was. Presumably they have always been put to their present use.

While the contents of the treasury are not now of outstanding interest, and are but a shadow of the glory of the original treasure which demanded a special official, one of the dignitaries, to have the care of it, and of which a list is given by Dugdale, one object is unique—the *Horn of Ulph*. This is an ivory horn, certainly not of an elephant, but probably of a mammoth ox, 29 inches long and 5 inches in external diameter at its broad end, where it is carved with ornamentation of Assyrian design. The horn is now yellow with age.

¹ See Chapter XIII.

According to Camden, the horn is a mark of an endowment. He says that Ulph, the son of Thorald, held lands in Western Deira, about which a quarrel took place amongst his sons. Ulph determined to make the share of each of his sons equal by making over all his lands to the church of York. In token of this, after he had filled the horn with wine and drunk the wine at one draught, he laid the horn on the altar and left it with the church as the title-deed to the property. Unless the small hole at the narrow end of the horn was previously filled up, Ulph must have had a very long arm. The hole is now hidden by a silver cap.

The horn is a curious title-deed ; but Drake says that there are several instances of this kind of gift, the token being a sword, a helmet, a horn, a cup, or bow and arrows. Certainly some of the lands of the Dean and Chapter are referred to as being "de terra Ulphi," amongst them certain houses on the north side of Monkgate, York, which were formerly the property of the Dean and Chapter.

Before the Reformation the adornments and the pendant of the horn were of gold. It was stripped of its gold and removed from the cathedral, until in the year 1675 Henry, son of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, one of the protectors and benefactors of the church in York,¹ restored it. It was then decorated as at present, and the following inscription placed on it :

Cornu hoc Ulphus in occidentali parte Deiræ princeps una cum omnibus terris et redditibus suis olim donavit. Amisum vel abreptum Henricus Dom. Fairfax demum restituit Dec. et Capit. de novo ornavit. A.D. M.DC.LXXV."

The Mazer Bowl.—This is a shallow bowl, 12½ inches in diameter and 4½ inches in height over all, standing on three small feet carved into the shape of heads, made of maple wood, but with a lining and external bands of silver. Round the rim of the bowl runs the following inscription : " + Recharde Arche beschope Scrope grantis on to alle tho that drinkis of this cope XL^{ti} dayis to pardune, Robart Gubsune Beschope musm grantis

¹ See Chapter X.

in same forme afore saide XL^{ti} dayis to pardune. Robart Strensalle."

In the inventory of jewels, etc., which belonged to the Gild of Corpus Christi at York this bowl is mentioned. Scrope was beheaded in 1405. The Gild was not founded till 1408. Amongst its earliest members were Henry and Anges Wyman, Mayor and Mayoress of York in the years 1407-8-9; and the bowl was presented to the Gild by Agnes. The explanation of the name of Scrope on the cup is that the project of forming the Gild was probably formed in Scrope's lifetime and with his sanction, and that he had promised the use of his name on such a bowl. The See of York was kept vacant till 1407; and it has been suggested that Robert Gibson was the name of the bishop in charge of the see during the vacancy. His name has not, however, come to light as such. Dean Purey-Cust conjectured that Robert Strensall was the first master of the Gild. Nothing definite is known about either Gibson or Strensall.

The Gild of Corpus Christi was dissolved in 1547. At a later date the bowl was in the possession of the Cordwainers' Company, but it is not known when it passed into their hands. It was probably they who in 1669¹ had the bowl relined with silver. When the Cordwainers' Company was dissolved early in the nineteenth century, Mr. William Hornby,² the last Master or Governor of the Company, presented it for safe keeping to the Dean and Chapter.

A small *Ivory Casket*, 5½ inches high by 5½ inches long by 4½ inches wide, with curved lid, of thirteenth-century Sicilian workmanship, conjectured to be a case in which the heart of a Crusader was brought home.

Three Chalices and Pattens from tombs. One certainly came from Archbishop Greenfield's tomb; one is said to have been found in Archbishop Neville's tomb in the recess on the north side of the treasury; and it is not known where the other was found.

Three Episcopal Rings which were buried with Sewal de Bovil (d. 1258), William de Greenfield (d. 1314), and Henry Bowet (d. 1423).

¹ See the maker's mark on the bowl. ² Sheriff of York in 1807.

The Pastoral Staff of Cardinal James Smith, Bishop of Callipolis, the gift to him of Katherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. The head of the staff is richly ornamented with the arms assumed by the cardinal—a mitre, the arms of Katherine, and a crown. The staff was forcibly seized on November 22, 1687, by the Earl of Danby, who, suspecting that it was the intention of James II to appoint Smith to the Archbishopric of York, which was vacant at the time, took possession of York and wrested the staff out of the hands of the bishop, who was suspected of attempting to found a seminary in York. The staff has been in the possession of the Dean and Chapter ever since this event.

The old Chair, said to be of Saxon date, and, further, to be the chair in which Saxon kings were crowned, but certainly no older than the fifteenth century. Richard III is said by Hall to have been crowned at York in this chair on his visit to York.¹

A fragment of Stone, "qui cecedit super caput Rogeri de Ripon" (see inscription on it). Roger was precentor in 1379. The incident and its sequel are depicted in the St. William window.

Amongst the *books* which are preserved in the treasury are a chained Bible, of uncertain date, in which a phrase from Exodus xiv, verse 10, is repeated; a Bible (ed. 1613) and a Prayer Book (ed. 1631) presented by Charles I; and two volumes of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha (ed. 1660), the gift of Charles II.

The magnificent *Chest* in the recess on the north side of the vestry, in which copes are now kept, has a carved front which represents scenes relating to the courtship and marriage of Henry V. St. George (Henry V) is in mortal combat with the Dragon (Charles VI of France); a lady (Katherine, daughter of Charles VI) awaits the result of the fight. The dragon is vanquished, and is led by the lady, now crowned queen, while she stands above with her lord and master. The British lion surveys the scene with calm satisfaction.

Two of the Stall Seats saved from the choir after the

¹ Records of the sub-chantor and vicars-choral, to whom he intended to convey the advowson of Cottingham, near Hull: He was killed, however, before the conveyance could be completed.

fire of 1829. The canopies above them were evidently burnt. Under the seats are carvings—one of a dwarf wearing tight tunic and sugar-loaf hat, who supports the *miserere* itself, and is flanked by two grotesque heads; and the other of an eagle with outstretched wings, which support the *miserere*, with a scroll proceeding out of its mouth, and with a rose at each side.

Two small gilded Crowns presented by the Dean and Chapter to King James I on August 12, 1607, when he "heard divine service at the Minster, and so to the Manor,¹ where he kept his Court."

On the eastern side of the treasury are many interesting objects—signatures of royal personages on their visits to the cathedral, pictures illustrating the fire of 1829, sketches by Jonathan Martin² and his clasp knife, a case containing relics from the fires of 1829 and 1841, seals and medals, and the books used in the cathedral by the late Duke of Clarence during his residence in York with his regiment.

The King's Book, which is covered with a Union Jack, contains the names of Yorkshire men and women who fell in the war of 1914 to 1918. It was presented to King George V, and is kept, by His Majesty's command, in the cathedral.

¹ The King's Manor, once the house of the Abbot of St. Mary's Abbey, York, then the head-quarters of the Council of the North, and now the Yorkshire School for the Blind. One of the most interesting houses in this country.

² The incendiary of the choir.

APPENDIX IV

THE LIBRARY

THE Library of the Dean and Chapter of York is one of the oldest libraries in existence. While nothing approaching a detailed history of the library can be given here, a short account of it may not be without interest.

Its history probably commences with the appointment to the see of Wilfrid I in the year 669, for not only is it generally true to say that York would share in the treasures which he brought to Northumbria, but also at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Minster still possessed two copies of the Gospels that had belonged to him. The bindings of both were beautifully ornamented with representations of our Lord and certain saints.

The library reached its greatest pre-Conquest glory, however, under Alcuin, the friend and pupil of Albert, archbishop from 767 to 780. The school at York which had been founded by Archbishop Egbert, with the advice of the Venerable Bede, was developed and extended until it became almost a mediaeval university. Alcuin's poem contains a list of authors whose works were to be found at the York library. The late Chancellor Raine said that "even in the eleventh century no one place in Britain or France possessed such a store of books."

Notices of the library are very scant before the Norman Conquest. Amongst the dignitaries of the cathedral provided for in the statutes of Thomas of Bayeux was a chancellor, the only pre-Conquest official. The continuation of the chancellorship, the chief function of which was educational, shows that the Norman prelate had every sympathy with the educational and literary activities of which the pre-Conquest cathedral had been the centre. The present school known as St. Peter's School, York, is in one sense the descendant of the school founded by Alcuin and revived under Archbishop

Thomas. In spite, however, of the existence of a school at York all through the Middle Ages, the only direct references to the library on which such a school would to some extent depend are in wills. In 1414, John Newton, treasurer, bequeathed thirty-nine manuscripts to the Dean and Chapter to help to form a library. His successor as treasurer, Thomas Haxey, gave the sum of £26 13s. 4d. for the roof of the building, which from this time forward was a separate structure. It was between the south wall of the nave and the west wall of the south transept, and is still standing, with its original oak door, and the magnificent oak roof ribbed in numerous large squares for which Haxey paid. Torre gives a list of coats-of-arms that the windows of the library contained. Part of the room is now used as a choir vestry. Many more bequests of books followed, including one from Robert Semer, Vicar of St. Martin's, Coney Street, donor of the west window of that church and a benefactor to the fabric, who died in 1443. Leland, however, considered that the library of the Dean and Chapter could not be compared with that of St. Mary's Abbey, York.

The injunctions of both Edward VI (1547) and Archbishop Holgate (1552) contain references to the library. The former direct that the Dean and Chapter shall "maike a Librarie" and provide for it the works of certain of the Fathers and of Erasmus. This probably refers to the formation of a special library from which the writings of the mediaeval schoolmen were to be absent, and does not infer that the mediaeval library had come to an end. Archbishop Holgate ordered that three of the vicars-choral should be joint librarians, and that the works of the "Auncient Doctors of the Church (thoes we call auncient that did write within six hundreth yeres after Christe's Ascention)" and of certain other writers should be purchased.

The seventeenth century marked the first donations of books to the library in large quantities.¹ Fortunately during the Parliamentary occupation of York after the Battle of Marston Moor, the library received the same consideration as the Minster itself. On October 23, 1645,

¹ See list, pp. 198-9,

it was ordered that the salary of the Minster library keeper should be paid. A bequest of books in 1657 shows that the library was still in use.

In 1685 Archbishop Dolben's injunctions complain of the condition of the library and order that a complete catalogue shall be made, and that duplicates of books shall be exchanged for other books. In pursuance of these instructions, Thomas Comber, the precentor, wrote in his diary that he had spent more than £80 thus realized in new books. This wholesale parting with duplicate copies is much to be deplored.

In May, 1810, the library was transferred to its present position in the early-thirteenth-century chapel of the archiepiscopal palace, which was adapted and enlarged for the purpose. The lofty chapel was divided into two rooms by a horizontal floor, which entirely spoiled the architectural beauties of the old chapel. Besides these two rooms thus formed, there are books in three other rooms, two on the ground floor and one on the first floor. The number of books which the library contains cannot be fewer than 15,000. As may be inferred from the list of gifts, the library is rich in early printed books and in books relating to the history of the county of Yorkshire and of various localities within the county.

The early books include about sixty, which were printed, many of them in Venice, before the end of the fifteenth century. Amongst them are a dozen by William Caxton and his apprentice and successor, Wynkyn de Worde. The number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books and tracts runs into hundreds. The library has a collection of early printed missals and other service-books, of which there are nearly twenty that were printed in the sixteenth century, including two 1549 editions of the Book of Common Prayer of that year. A parallel Greek and Latin text of the Gospels, which probably belonged to Erasmus, is amongst the early books.

There are also many and various manuscripts, which include thirteenth-century Bibles and a copy, in two volumes, of the Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey, York, of which there are, however, a few other copies in

existence. In addition to books of early prayers and a collection of early music, one great treasure is a text, in Latin, of the four Gospels, which was made between the years 920 and 1050. It was used in the Middle Ages for the purpose of oaths when the canons were installed, and it is still used occasionally for the same purpose. It contains illuminated pictures of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. That of St. John is missing.

The library has no endowment, and there are no funds for the purchase of modern books. It is open several times a week, and visitors are admitted free of charge.

LIST OF BENEFACTORS

- 1617 Edmund Bunney, Sub-Dean. Only a few of his books can be traced.
- 1628 Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York. A collection of theological and classical books, many of which contain his name.
- 1644- Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, father of the Governor
1648 of York after Marston Moor. Several hundred volumes, some of which are sixteenth-century medical books.
- 1686 John Dolben, Archbishop of York. Mainly theological works, in number about 400.
- 1711 James Fall, Precentor. French and Italian books.
- 1715 Exors. of John Sharp, Archbishop. Ten volumes of Torre's MSS., some of which have been referred to already in the present book.
- 1737 Marmaduke Fothergill, Vicar of Skipwith, near York, who bequeathed to the care of the vicars of Skipwith a valuable collection of books on Liturgiology. As accommodation could not be provided for the books at Skipwith, Fothergill's widow agreed that they should be preserved in the Minster library at York. The number of the volumes is about 1,500; and Fothergill made a catalogue of them.
- 1819 Mrs. Mary Burgh, whose husband, William Burgh, had studied Unitarianism, and had



SOMMARQEM NITTEMLEAN

celi ihu xpi filii di geor scripserit
 et metati propheta. Ece mero angelum meum
 ante faciem tuam qui praeparabit viam tuam ante
 te. Vox clamantis in deserto praeparate viam domini
 regis terre tunc estis. Iste solutus in deserto
 baptizatus & peccatis baptisimum posuerunt in
 missione peccatorum. Et exultabat ad illum omnis
 iudeo regio. et baptizantem innumeris. et baptizantem
 sanum. alio modo in iordanis flumine confiteretur per
 caritatem suam. Et erat solutus in desertum. post cinerem
 & zona pellucida circa lumbos eius. Et locustas. et
 nec illud habere edebat. et psycholus dicens. Converte
 dicens. me post me. et non sum dignus praecedere
 seduere corrigam. collectorem eius. Et baptizantem
 in iordanis. alio modo baptizantem non ipse sed. Et fac
 quoniam est in deserto illis. tenite discipulos vestros quilibet
 & baptizet eos in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti
 deus de aqua. unde aperietur celus. et ipse cumque
 ascenderit. descendens & manens in templo. Et ecce hic
 et est. deest. et d' filius meus dilectus. ecce complatur
 Et faciem spiritus sancti cum in deserto te erat in deserto

- written extensively about it. A miscellaneous collection of books.
- 1859 Mrs. Mary Ann Dixon, widow of a canon residentiary, presented a volume of poems written by her husband's uncle, William Mason, the poet, who himself had been a canon of York (1757-1762), with two other volumes in the handwriting of the poet Gray, who was a friend of Mason's. A portrait of Mason is part of the property of the deanery.
- 1863 Alexander II, Tsar of Russia, presented to the library a copy in four volumes of the new edition of the "Codex Sinaiticus." In 1890, at the request of Cardinal Manning, and by kind permission of Pope Leo XIII, the library received a reproduction of the "Codex Vaticanus." A reproduction of the "Codex Alexandrinus" completes the collection.
- 1873 The Hon. and Rev. Stephen W. Lawley, Rector of Escrick, Sub-Dean (1852-1862). Seventy-three volumes of the works of Thomas Hearne, the historian.
- 1874 Mrs. Churton, widow of Archdeacon Churton, and her son-in-law, the Rev. W. Inge, Provost of Worcester College, Oxford. A large collection of tracts on historical and theological subjects.
- 1875 Mrs. Elizabeth Davies, of York, widow of Robert Davies, F.S.A. Over 250 volumes, including a copy of the "Salisbury Processional" (1546).
- 1890 Edward Hailstone, F.S.A., Walton Hall, Wakefield, who in his will left the contents of his magnificent Yorkshire library to the Dean and Chapter of York. This collection of local works is housed separately, and is known as "The Hailstone Collection"; and it has been largely increased.

APPENDIX V

LIFE OF ST. WILLIAM OF YORK

THE son of Count Herbert and Emma, sister of King Stephen, William Fitzherbert was born about the year 1100. In 1130 he was canon and treasurer of York, in which office he was "in societate mansuetus, in loquendo modestus, in responsionibus circumspectus, in promisso stabilis, in consilio fidus, pronus ad concordiam, et rigidus ad censuram." Actually, however, he appears to have been also somewhat easy-going and indolent. On the death of Archbishop Thurstan in 1140, William was ultimately elected to the vacant see by the Dean and Chapter. Osbert, Archdeacon of York, who throughout his life was his bitter enemy, opposed the election; and the dispute was referred successively to Popes Celestine II and Eugenius III. The case lasted for some time; but, in spite of William's appearance in person at Rome, the Pope set his election on one side and appointed instead Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains (1147). William retired to visit his uncle, Henry, Bishop of Winchester; and at Winchester he lived quietly, spending his time in study and devotion. On Murdac's death in 1153, the Dean and Chapter again elected William to the see. William made a second journey to Rome, and this time his claim was successful. Pope Anastasius IV gave him the pallium, and he returned to England.

On his entry into York he was received with enthusiasm by the people, who turned out in such great crowds to welcome him that Ouse Bridge broke under their weight, and numbers of people were precipitated into the water. By the prayers of the archbishop, however, they were all saved.

His time as archbishop was very short—only thirty days. On Trinity Sunday, 1154, he was taken ill as he was celebrating Mass in his cathedral, and retired to his palace, to die within nine days. He was buried in the Minster, at a spot south of the first pier from the lantern

tower on the north side of the nave. After his death many miracles were reputed to have been performed at his tomb, from which it was claimed that holy oil flowed. York had no patron saint. Beverley and Bridlington both had a St. John. In response to requests from the Dean and Chapter, supported by the personal appeal of a deputation, the Holy See decreed William's canonization. Not until January 8, 1283,¹ however, eight years before the Decorated nave was commenced, were the bones of the saint transferred from the tomb in the nave. The occasion was graced by the presence of King Edward III and Queen Eleanor. The bones were placed in a feretory, the head in a silver box, and the whole was enclosed in a shrine which was kept in a chamber behind the high altar.

In 1422 a window was inserted in the eastern transept of the north aisle of the choir in which the events of St. William's life and the miracles that were ascribed to his influence were represented. There were not enough, however, of his miracles to fill the window ; and some of the miracles ascribed to St. John of Beverley and St. John of Bridlington were pressed into service. There is no authentic copy of his shrine, as the many pictures of it in the window are unlike one another. The model of the shrine which is kept in the entrance hall of St. William's College, the college of chantry priests founded in the middle of the fifteenth century and named after him, is nothing more than a suggestion of the appearance of the shrine. At the Reformation the shrine, the feretory, the silver box, and the many ornaments attached to them, disappeared. In May, 1732, Drake found under the stone which marked the site of the old tomb of St. William in the nave a box which contained a number of human bones. It is possible from this that the remains of the saint were replaced here by those who despoiled the shrine.

The fame of St. William was never more than local. He never attained to the popularity of St. John of Beverley or St. Cuthbert of Durham. His name is not found in any calendar except the York Calendar. His feasts were observed on January 8th (Translation) and June 8th (Death.)

¹ In modern reckoning, 1284

APPENDIX VI

MINSTER YARD IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

YORK Minster loses greatly in its setting on three sides. It is only the northern part of the original close or yard that is private. It is known as Dean's Park, and it contains the lodge, the residence of the canons (which is no longer used as such), the library, and the deanery. The gardens of the residence and the deanery extend to the city wall. Both these houses were built at the end of the eighteenth century ; and at that time and soon afterwards the "improvements" were made by which a broad highway was cut through Duncombe Place, between the Minster and St. Michael-le-Belfry Church, and by way of Deangate to Goodramgate, the main north-east road out of York.

The plan of the Minster yard at the end of the fifteenth century shows a far different arrangement of the buildings near the Minster. There was no connexion for vehicles from Petergate to Goodramgate except at the junction of the two streets. Little Blake Street was very narrow, and quite unlike the broad and spacious Duncombe Place which has succeeded it. Access from Stonegate to the Minster was gained through Minster Gates, as at present. Vicar Lane still exists under the name of College Street. Of the houses of the dignitaries, the palace, the precentory, and the old deanery have disappeared. Precentor's Court is still with us, but only as a name. Of the palace nothing remains except the chapel, now used as the library, and an arcade which is fast perishing. The stones of the old deanery were used for the building of a Song School, where the Minster choristers are educated and the practices of the Minster choir are held. The canons' residence, in which up to six years ago the four canons residentiary lived during their periods of residence, stands where the main buildings of the palace stood.

St. Sepulchre's Chapel has left few traces of its former glory. The modern deanery is to the north of the chapter house. The only house which exists and retains any of its former beauty is still known as Treasurer's House. It is in private ownership, and is now in the hands of one who by his care for it has earned the gratitude of all who love old and beautiful houses. It is one of the most attractive houses of the north of England. The Bedern College buildings have all disappeared, with the single exception of the chapel, which has recently been restored and made safe, and of a few fragments of the other buildings to the east of the chapel. St. William's College has been referred to already.¹

Holy Trinity (Goodramgate) Church is in a state of good preservation, and, with its old pews and old glass, is one of the most frequently visited places in York. The churches of St. John-del-Pyke and St. Mary ad Valvas are now nothing but names. So, happily, are the two prisons of the Dean and Chapter and the Archbishop.

It is fortunate, however, that even so much has been preserved at York. Now that signs of a revival of interest in antiquarian research are evident all over the country, those who would sacrifice more relics of the past to the convenience of the present are experiencing opposition that is generally successful.

¹ See Appendices II and V.

APPENDIX VII

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